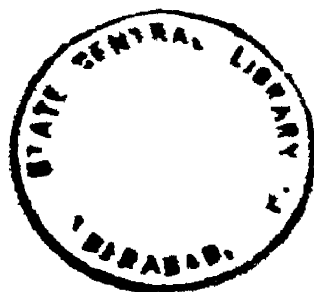


LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

VOL. XI

GIPSY LANGUAGES



VOLUMES OF
THE LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

- VOL. I. PART I INTRODUCTORY.
PART II COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY.
- VOL. II. MŌN-KHMĒR & SIAMESE-CHINESE FAMILIES (INCLUDING
KHASSI & TAI).
- VOL. III. TIBETO-BURMAN FAMILY
PART I GENERAL INTRODUCTION, TIBETAN DIALECTS,
HIMALAYAN DIALECTS, & NORTH ASSAM GROUPS.
PART II BODO-NĀGĀ & KACHIN GROUPS.
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- VOL. VII. INDO-ARYAN FAMILY, SOUTHERN GROUP (MARĀṬHĪ).
- VOL. VIII. INDO-ARYAN FAMILY, NORTH-WESTERN GROUP.
PART I SINDHĪ & LAHNDĀ.
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KĀSHMĪRĪ).
- VOL. IX. INDO-ARYAN FAMILY, CENTRAL GROUP.
PART I WESTERN HINDI & PANJĀBĪ.
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PART III BHĪL LANGUAGES INCLUDING KHĀNDEŚĪ, BANJĀRĪ
OR LABHĀNĪ, BAHRUPIA ETC.
PART IV PAHĀRĪ LANGUAGES & GUJURĪ.
- VOL. X. ERANIAN FAMILY.
- VOL. XI. "GIPSY" LANGUAGES.

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

VOL. XI

GIPSY LANGUAGES

COMPILED AND EDITED BY

G. A. GRIERSON, K.C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT., I.C.S.



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RASHTRAPATI BHAVAN,
NEW DELHI-4.

October 20, 1966.

Dear Sri Sundarlal,

Thank you very much for undertaking the task of republication of Grierson's LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA. It is a pleasure to know that you were able to complete the republication of the 50 volumes of Max Muller's 'Sacred Books of the East' within 3 years. Your work, I may assure you, is of the greatest value to the intellectuals of the world.

With the best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

(S. Radhakrishnan)

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Delhi-7

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LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION ADOPTED.

A.—For the Dēva-nāgarī alphabet, and others related to it—

अ *a*, आ *ā*, इ *i*, ई *ī*, उ *u*, ऊ *ū*, ऋ *ṛi*, ए *e*, ऐ *ē*, ओ *ai*, औ *o*, औ *ō*, औ *au*.
 क *ka* ख *kha* ग *ga* घ *gha* ङ *ṅa* च *cha* छ *chha* ज *ja* झ *jha* ञ *ña*
 ट *ṭa* ठ *ṭha* ड *ḍa* ढ *ḍha* ण *ṇa* त *ta* थ *tha* द *da* ध *dha* न *na*
 प *pa* फ *pha* ब *ba* भ *bha* म *ma* य *ya* र *ra* ल *la* व *va* or *wa*
 श *śa* ष *ṣha* स *sa* ह *ha* ङ *ṅa* ढ *ḍa* ण *ṇa* ञ *ña*

Visarga (:) is represented by *h*, thus क्रमः *kramah*. Anuswāra (◌̣) is represented by *m*, thus सिंह *simh*, वंश *vamś*. In Bengali and some other languages it is pronounced *ng*, and is then written *ng*; thus बंग *bangśa*. Anunāsika or Chandra-bindu is represented by the sign ~ over the letter nasalized, thus में *mẹ̄*.

B.—For the Arabic alphabet, as adapted to Hindōstānī—

ا <i>a</i> , etc.	ج <i>j</i>	د <i>d</i>	ر <i>r</i>	س <i>s</i>	ع <i>‘</i>
ب <i>b</i>	ح <i>ch</i>	ڌ <i>ḍ</i>	ژ <i>ṛ</i>	ش <i>sh</i>	غ <i>gh</i>
پ <i>p</i>	ه <i>h</i>	ز <i>z</i>	ز <i>z</i>	ص <i>s</i>	ف <i>f</i>
ت <i>t</i>	ک <i>kh</i>	ج <i>ch</i>	م <i>m</i>	ن <i>n</i>	ق <i>q</i>
ث <i>t</i>			ط <i>t</i>	ک <i>k</i>	
ث <i>s</i>			ظ <i>z</i>	گ <i>g</i>	
				ل <i>l</i>	
				م <i>m</i>	
				ن <i>n</i>	
				و <i>when representing anunāsika in Dēva-nāgarī, by ~ over nasalized vowel.</i>	
				و <i>w or v</i>	
				ه <i>h</i>	
				ی <i>y</i> , etc.	

Tanwīn is represented by *n*, thus فائز *fauran*. Alif-e maqṣūra is represented by *ā*;—thus دعو *da‘wā*.

In the Arabic character, a final silent *h* is not transliterated,—thus باند *banda*. When pronounced, it is written,—thus گناه *gunāh*.

Vowels when not pronounced at the end of a word, are not written in transliteration. Thus बन *ban*, not *bana*. When not pronounced in the middle of a word or only slightly pronounced in the middle or at the end of a word, they are written in small characters above the line. Thus (Hindī) देखता *dēkhtā*, pronounced *dēkhtā*; (Kāshmirī) वह *ṭh*; कह *kar*, pronounced *kor*; (Bihārī) देखथि *dēkhatḥ*.

C.—Special letters peculiar to special languages will be dealt with under the head of the languages concerned. In the meantime the following more important instances may be noted :—

- (a) The *ts* sound found in Marāṭhī (च), Paṣṭō (چ), Kāshmirī (च्, च), Tibetan (ཚ), and elsewhere, is represented by *ts*. So, the aspirate of that sound is represented by *tsʰ*.
- (b) The *dz* sound found in Marāṭhī (ज), Paṣṭō (ج), and Tibetan (ཇ) is represented by *dz*, and its aspirate by *dzʰ*.
- (c) Kāshmirī (ञ) is represented by *ñ*.
- (d) Sindhī (ڄ), Western Pañjābī (and elsewhere on the N.-W. Frontier) (ڄ), and Paṣṭō (چ or ڄ) are represented by *n*.
- (e) The following are letters peculiar to Paṣṭō :—
 ت *t*; چ *ts* or *dz*, according to pronunciation; د *d*; ر *r*; ز *zh* or *g*, according to pronunciation; ښ *sh* or *kh*, according to pronunciation; ڼ or ڻ *n*.
- (f) The following are letters peculiar to Sindhī :—
 پ *bb*; ڀ *bh*; ٺ *th*; ٽ *t*; ٿ *th*; ڦ *ph*; ڄ *jj*; ڇ *jh*; ڙ *chh*;
 ڻ *ñ*; ڍ *dh*; ڊ *d*; ڏ *ḍḍ*; ڌ *ḍh*; ڪ *k*; ڪ *kh*; ڳ *gg*; ڳ *gh*;
 ڻ *n*; ڻ *n*.

D.—Certain sounds, which are not provided for above, occur in transcribing languages which have no alphabet, or in writing phonetically (as distinct from transliterating) languages (such as Bengali) whose spelling does not represent the spoken sounds. The principal of these are the following :—

<i>ā</i> ,	represents the sound of the <i>a</i> in <i>all</i> .
<i>ă</i> ,	„ „ „ <i>a</i> in <i>hat</i> .
<i>ě</i> ,	„ „ „ <i>e</i> in <i>met</i> .
<i>ō</i> ,	„ „ „ <i>o</i> in <i>hot</i> .
<i>e</i> ,	„ „ „ <i>é</i> in the French <i>était</i> .
<i>o</i> ,	„ „ „ <i>o</i> in the first <i>o</i> in <i>promote</i> .
<i>ō</i> ,	„ „ „ <i>ō</i> in the German <i>schön</i> .
<i>ü</i> ,	„ „ „ <i>ü</i> in the „ <i>mühe</i> .
<i>th</i> ,	„ „ „ <i>th</i> in <i>think</i> .
<i>dh</i> ,	„ „ „ <i>th</i> in <i>this</i> .

The semi-consonants peculiar to the Muṇḍā languages are indicated by an apostrophe. Thus *k'*, *t'*, *p'*, and so on.

E.—When it is necessary to mark an accented syllable, the acute accent is used. Thus in (Khōwār) *ássistai*, he was, the acute accent shows that the accent falls on the first, and not, as might be expected, on the second syllable.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The present Volume of the Linguistic Survey contains an account of the so-called "Gipsy Languages" of India, so far as information concerning them has become available.

It has been prepared by Professor Sten Konow, of Christiania, Norway, who was for several years my Assistant, and to whose learning and unsparing collaboration I am heavily indebted. I have myself carefully gone through his manuscript, and have here and there added a few remarks over my signature. As General Editor of this series of volumes, I am therefore responsible for all statements contained in it.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.



GIPSY LANGUAGES.

INTRODUCTION.

Migratory tribes are found all over India, and are of different kinds. Some of them, like the Pendhāris, are descended from adventurers and individuals belonging to various castes and trades; others, like the Banjārās, Ōds, and so on, are occupational units, who wander all over the country in pursuance of their trade; others again are much of the same kind as the Gipsies of Europe, tumblers, jugglers, acrobats, or thieves and robbers, who have come under the Criminal Tribes Act.

It has become customary to call these tribes Gipsies, but this designation does not imply any connexion between them and the Gipsies of Europe. The word Gipsy, which is, as is well known, a corruption of Egyptian, was originally applied to those well-known migratory tribes who began to make their name known and feared in Europe from the beginning of the 15th century, because they described themselves as coming from Egypt. The word has then also come to be used to denote other peoples of similar, migratory, habits, and this is the sense in which it has been used in this Survey. The Gipsy Languages are, accordingly, dialects spoken by the vagrant tribes of India.

Our information about these forms of speech is necessarily limited. Many of these vagrants simply speak the language of their neighbours. Others are bilingual or even multilingual, adopting the speech of the district where they happen to stay in all their dealings with outsiders, but retaining a peculiar dialect of their own when talking among themselves. For this latter purpose many of these tribes have also developed a secret argot, which they commonly call Pārsi, 'Persian,' and they are naturally shy of initiating others into it. These argots will be dealt with below. They have not anything to do with grammar, but are based on some dialect, which may be designated as the home tongue of the tribe. Moreover, such tribes as have not developed any artificial argot, often have a dialect of their own. Such forms of speech cannot, of course, be expected to present the same consistency as ordinary vernaculars. It is a consequence of the migratory habits of the tribes, that their languages are to some extent mixed. Where the base is comparatively uniform and practically identical with one definite tongue, such dialects have, in this Survey, been dealt with in connexion with that form of speech. Thus the dialects of the following vagrant tribes have been described in connexion with Dravidian languages in Vol. IV of this Survey.

Name of dialect.	Estimated number of speakers.
Korava and Yerukala	55,116
Kaikāḍi	8,289
Burganḍi	265
Gōlari	3,614
Kurumba	10,399
Vaḍari	27,099
TOTAL	104,782

Others have been dealt with in connexion with the Bhil languages in Vol. IX, Part iii, of this Survey, *viz.* :—

Name of dialect.	Estimated number of speakers.
Bāori	43,000
Banjāri	158,500
Chārapi	1,200
Habūra	950
Pārādhi or Tākankāri	8,648
Siyālgiri	120
Tārimūki or Ghisādi (Vol. IX, Part ii)	1,669
TOTAL	214,087

There remain some vagrant tribes, who have, during the operations of this Survey, been reported to possess languages of their own, *viz.* :—

Name of dialect.	Estimated number of speakers.
Beldāri	5,140
Bhamti	14
Dōm	13,500
Gārōdi	?
Gulguliā	853
Kanjari (including Kuchbandhi)	7,085
Kolhāti	2,307
Lādi	500
Machariā	30
Malār	2,309
Myānwālē or Lhāri	?
Naṭi	11,534
Ōḍki	2,814
Peṇḍhāri	1,250
Qaṣāi	2,700
Sāsi	51,550
Sikalgāri	25
TOTAL	101,671

Of these, Machariā was returned from the Kapurthala State as spoken by a tribe of fowlers who had come from Sind. It has turned out to be ordinary Sindhī with a slight admixture of Pañjābī and need not occupy us any more in this place. The remaining Gipsy dialects named above will be described in the ensuing pages. This list is unfortunately far from exhausting the number of such languages. We know that the Chūhrās, the Dalāls, the Naqqāsh, and several other tribes and castes possess secret trade jargons of their own, and many criminal tribes have been described who freely mix their speech with slang words and phrases in order to prevent outsiders from understanding them. No new materials about them have, however, been forwarded for the purposes of this Survey, and I can therefore only refer to such authorities dealing with them as I have come across.

AUTHORITIES—

- MUHAMMAD ABDUL GHAFÚR,—*A Complete Dictionary of the Terms used by the Criminal Tribes in the Punjab ; together with a short history of each tribe, and the names and places of residence of individual members.* For the use of the police and jail officers serving in the Punjab. Lahore : Printed at the Central Jail Press, 1879. Contains Slang terms of Gamblers, pp. 29-30 ; Pilferers or Utháigiras, pp. 32-38 ; Khallait, Uchakká and Tagú, pp. 38-40 ; Sansis, pp. 40-51 ; Doomnas, pp. 51-54 ; Gandhílas, pp. 54-56 ; Sweepers of Delhi District, p. 57 ; Sweepers of Punjab, pp. 57-59 ; Harnis, pp. 59-60 ; Báurias, pp. 60-61 ; Minas, p. 62 ; Meos, pp. 62-63 ; Ahírs and Goojars, p. 64 ; Thugs, p. 65 ; Pachhádás, pp. 65-66.
- LEITNER, G. W., LL.D.—*A Detailed Analysis of Abdul Ghafúr's Dictionary of the Terms used by Criminal Tribes in the Punjab.* Lahore : Printed at the Punjab Government Civil Secretariat Press, 1880. This "Analysis" contains all, and corrects almost all, the words and sentences in Abdul Ghafúr's so-called Dictionary.
- LEITNER, G. W., LL.D.—*A Sketch of the Changars and of their Dialect.* Lahore : Printed at the Punjab Government Civil Secretariat Press, 1880.
- LEITNER, G. W., LL.D.—*Selection from the Records of the Punjab Government. Section I of Linguistic Fragments discovered in 1870, 1872 and 1879, relating to the dialect of the Magaddis and other Wandering Tribes, the Argots of Thieves, the Secret Trade-dialects and Systems of native Cryptography in Kabul, Kashmir and the Punjab, followed by an Account of Shawl-weaving and of the Signs for the Numbers and Colours used in the Manufacture of Shawls as well as by an Analysis of a Shawl-pattern, and by four Pages of Shawl-writing, illustrated by Drawings of Shawls and by Specimens of Colours chiefly in use in the Punjab and Kashmir.* Lahore : Printed at the Punjab Government Civil Secretariat Press, 1882.
- LEITNER, G. W., LL.D.—*Appendix to "Changars" and Linguistic Fragments. Words and Phrases illustrating the dialects of the Samé and Mé as also of Dancers, Mirásis and Dóms.* Lahore : Printed at the Punjab Government Civil Secretariat Press, 1882.
- TEMPLE, [SIR] R. C.,—*An Examination of the Trade Dialect of the Nagqásh or Painters on Papier-mache in the Punjab and Kashmir.* *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. liii, Part i, 1884, pp. 1 and ff.
- TEMPLE, [SIR] R. C.,—*The Delhi Dalals and their Slang.* *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. xiv, 1885, pp. 155 and ff.
- BAILEY, REV. T. GRAHAME, D.D.—*Notes on Punjabi Dialects.* Contains I. Notes on the Sāsi Dialect, pp. 3 and ff. ; II. The Secret Words of the Qasāis, pp. 9 and f. ; III. The Argot of Pañjābī Gamblers, pp. 11 and f. ; IV. The Dialect of the Cūhrās, pp. 13 and ff. Privately printed. No date or place of publication.
- (KENNEDY, M.,)—*Notes on Criminal Classes in the Bombay Presidency with Appendices regarding some Foreign Criminals who occasionally visit the Presidency including Hints on the Detection of Counterfeit Coin.* Bombay, 1908.

The various Gipsy tribes have not been distinguished in the language returns of the published Reports of the last Census of 1911. It is therefore difficult to compare the figures with the estimates made for the purposes of this Survey. The total returned under the head of Gipsy languages in 1911 was 28,294 distributed as follows :—

Ajmer-Merwara	209
Bombay	8,362
Central Provinces and Berar	2,274
Panjab	5,640
United Provinces	1,673
Baroda State	536
Bombay States	2,326
Central India Agency	1,097
Hyderabad State	4,566
Panjab States	474
Rajputana Agency	456
Other Provinces	681
TOTAL	28,294

The Gipsy dialects considered in the ensuing pages can be divided into two groups, ordinary dialects and argots. The former group comprises
 Classification. Beldārī, Bhamṭī, Lādī, Ōḍkī and Peṇḍhārī, the latter Dōm, Gārōḍī, Gulguliā, Kanjarī, Kōlhāṭī, Malār, Myānwālē, Naṭī, Qaṣāī, Sāsī and Sikaḷgārī. The former group is of the same character as the Gipsy languages described under the head of Bhili in Vol. IX, Part iii, the latter can be compared with argots such as those used by the Panjab gamblers, the Chūhrās, etc. See Authorities, above.

Within the first of our two groups the Peṇḍhārīs in some respects occupy a position apart, being composed of various elements without any common race or religion. Their dialect shows that they have lived for some time in Eastern Rajputana, and history corroborates this inference. Both the Peṇḍhārīs and some of the Bhamṭās speak dialects which can be described as a mixture of Dakṣiṇī Hindōstānī and Jaipurī. Most Bhamṭās, however, speak Telugu. Lādī is in all essentials a form of Jaipurī. The Ōḍs are probably related to the Vādars, who speak a dialect of Telugu, and they are probably originally Dravidians. Their dialect, however, points towards Malwa or perhaps farther west. The Beldārīs are described as a Dravidian caste. They usually state that they are Rājputīs, and Dr. Crooke thinks that they are related to the Ōḍs. The traditions and dialects of all these tribes point to the conclusion that they belong to the same stock as the Banjārās, Habūrās, and other tribes who now use a form of Bhili. The traditions of both Banjārās and Habūrās point towards Rajputana. Ethnologists are, however, agreed that all these tribes are originally Dravidian, *i.e.* belong to the so-called Dravidian race. Their original home has perhaps been situated farther south. They have, however, become Aryanized at a comparatively early date, and philological considerations point to the conclusion that this occurred somewhere in Rajputana. Dr. Crooke is of opinion that these tribes are branches of one great nomadic race, which also comprises tribes such as the Sāsīs, Kanjars, Naṭs, and so on, *i.e.* such Indian Gipsies as possess an argot. Also here we find traditions which point towards Rajputana. Thus the Sāsīs were, according to one tradition, originally bards with the Chauhān Rājputīs. Their first ancestor was, they say, Sās Māl, and his brother Mallanūr was again the ancestor of the Kōlhāṭīs, who seem to be very closely connected with the Sāsīs. They are also related to the Kanjars, whose traditions only point towards the jungle, and the Naṭs, who sometimes, likewise, maintain that they have come from Rajputana. The Sikaḷgars of Benares assert that they were originally Rājputīs from Marwar. The Dōms are, according to their traditions, Nishādas, and their first ancestor is said to have sprung from the thigh of King Vēna. Now Bēnbans is the name of a modern Rājput sept, which, according to Dr. Crooke, is of obvious Kherwar origin, and the country of the Nishādas is stated in the Mahābhārata (iii, 10538) to begin where the Sarasvatī disappears in the sands. The Nishādas were, according to the Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa, forest robbers, and Mahidhara identifies them with the Bhillas. In the Agnipurāṇa they are mentioned together with "other dwellers in the Vindhyaś." It will be seen that these traditions point towards Rajputana or Central India. It will now be of interest to see how far an examination of the dialects spoken by these tribes, *i.e.* of the dialects on which their argots are based, corroborates these indications. We cannot of course expect to find anything more than indications. The tribes in question are migratory, and, if they spend a long time in any district, they are likely to adopt its current vernacular.

If we begin with *Sāsī*, it will be shown later on that the dialect varies according to the locality in which it is spoken, it being *Hindōstānī* in the East and a mixture of *Hindōstānī* and *Pañjābī* in the Northern Panjab, the stronghold of the tribe. Stray features such as the softening of hard mutes in the dative and genitive suffixes *gu*, *gā* and in words such as *dand*, tooth, are such as are also found in Western *Pahārī*.¹ The same is the case with the oblique base ending in *ā* in weak bases, just as in *Marāṭhī*. Forms such as the ablative suffix *thō*; the pronouns *ham*, we; *tam*, you, remind us of *Gujarātī*, but also of Western *Pahārī*. The dialect of the *Sāsīs* is closely related to *Kōlhāṭī*. The termination *ō* of oblique bases, which is well known from *Gujarātī* and Western *Pahārī*, is here common. Forms such as *mērē-ku*, to me, remind us of *Dakhinī Hindōstānī*, while the use of the relative base *ja* with the meaning of a demonstrative in forms such as *jabō*, then, is in accordance with the practice in *Rājasthānī* dialects.

If we now turn to *Kanjari*, we again find that the oblique base of weak nouns ends in *ā* or in *ō*, as in Western *Pahārī*. Strong masculine bases often end in *ō*, plural *ā*, as in *Rājasthānī*. Demonstrative pronouns such as *jō*, *jī*, that, are also in accordance with the usage in that language. Pronouns such as *urō*, he; *yō*, you; verbal suffixes such as *ir*, *gir*, in the present and past; the frequent use of relative participles; the tendency to form a negative verb, and so forth, perhaps point to the existence of a Dravidian element in the dialect. *Kanjari* is a comparatively consistent form of speech and seems to possess less local varieties than many other Gipsy tongues. The *Kanjars* are ethnographically related to the *Sāsīs* and *Kōlhāṭīs*, and also to the *Habūrās*. Just as the latter speak *Gujarātī Bhīlī* in the Gangetic Doab, the language of the *Kanjars* reminds us of *Gujarātī*, *Rājasthānī*, and *Pahārī* even in districts where these languages are not home tongues. The *Magahiya Dōms* of *Saran* and *Champaran* speak the current *Bhōjpuri* of the districts. There is, however, also a tissue of *Rājasthānī*, and the argot of the *Dōms* in so many points agrees with that in use among the *Kanjars* that it is impossible to separate the two. *Naṭī* also has some features which seem to point towards *Rājasthānī*, though the dialect underlying the argot of the *Naṭs* varies very much according to district. *Gārōḍī* is a mixture of *Hindōstānī*, Eastern *Rājasthānī* and *Marāṭhī*, and a similar position must be assigned to the so-called *Myānwālē*, while *Qaṣāī* is based on *Hindōstānī*, *Sikalgārī* on *Gujarātī*, and *Malār* on *Nāgpuriā*. *Gulguliā*, finally, is too insufficiently known to allow us to say anything definite about its position.

There are accordingly also some philological reasons for supposing a common origin of many of the Gipsy tribes. It will be remembered that they are described as belonging to the Dravidian race and that some of them use Dravidian forms of speech. Most of them, however, so far as they come within the scope of this Survey, speak Aryan tongues. If they are of Dravidian stock, that must be a secondary development. Their original language cannot have been Aryan. Now the existence of a *Rājasthānī* element in so many Gipsy dialects may be taken as an indication that they have abandoned their old speech and adopted an Aryan tongue within an area where *Rājasthānī* was spoken. It is a curious coincidence that the stronghold of the *Bhīls*, who must have a similar origin, is found between the territories occupied by

¹ *Pahārī* is closely related to *Rājasthānī*. See Vol. IX, Pt. iv, pp. 2ff., 103ff.

Rājasthānī, Gujarātī and Marāṭhī. Like many Gipsy languages some Bhīl dialects also have weak nouns with an oblique base ending in *ā*. In Gipsy, and in Pahārī, this *ā* is interchangeable with *ō*, which is common in Gujarātī. The theory might be hazarded that this use of an oblique base, of the kind elsewhere found in Marāṭhī, in all these tongues must be due to the existence of a substratum different from Rājasthānī and connected with Marāṭhī. There are also other philological indications that the language of Rajasthan and parts of Central India has once, in the times preceding the Rājput invasion, been more closely connected with Old Marāṭhī.

The conclusion arrived at above that most of these Gipsy tribes have a common origin is further strengthened by a consideration of the artificial argots which some of them have developed. We here find so much correspondence in details that we cannot well refrain from inferring that there is some connexion between these Indian argots. All of them are artificial languages devised for the purpose of enabling those who know them to converse with each other without the risk of being understood by outsiders. Such methods of speaking are in use all over the world, and they are known under different names in the different countries. In England they are called 'cant,' 'slang,' 'thieves' latin,' 'pedlars' French,' 'Saint Giles Greek,' 'flash tongue,' 'gibberish,' and so on, in France 'argot,' in Germany 'Rotwaelsch,' in Italy 'gergo,' 'furbesco,' in Spain 'germania,' and so on. Common to all of them is the extensive use of a peculiar vocabulary, and, in addition to this, the practice of disguising common words by means of transpositions and changes of letters. The vocabulary has usually been fetched from the most different sources, or else various figures of speech or associations of ideas lead to the use of well-known words with new meanings. Thus we find in the Spanish argot *Germania galle*, priest, taken from the Hebrew; *dupa*, ignorant, from the French; *londilla*, which is derived from *lon*, salt, and properly signifies a saltcellar, is used with the meaning of 'parlour,' because Spanish *sala*, parlour, suggests *sal*, salt, and so forth. Examples of transpositions from the same argot are *tisvar* for *vista*, view; *greno* for *negro*, a nigger. Changes of letters are also quite common; compare Rotwaelsch *witze* instead of *hitze*, heat. In the Pyrenees we find a device of the same character as the so-called *p-language*. Thus, instead of *jauna*, sir, they may say *jau-pau-na-pa* or *jau-gau-na-gra*. This of course is a very common way of producing an argot all over the world. Le Duchat tells us of the existence of a similar slang amongst the children of Metz, who add *dregue* to each syllable; thus *vousdregue esdregue undregue foudregue*, vous êtes un fou, you are a fool. Still more like our *p-language* is the Indian schoolboys' *Zargari*, where the letter *z* followed by a vowel is added to each syllable; thus *tu-zum kakhā jazātizē husō* for *tum kahā jātē hō*, where are you going? Dr. Leitner found this *Zargari* in use amongst the thieves of Peshawar, where he heard sentences such as *u-zu-s-ku-zo bu-zu-l-le-zā* for *us-kō bulā*, call him. A similar *s-language* is recorded from Bengal, where we find sentences such as *asami bosboi desdi-bosbo* for *āmi boi dibo*, I will give a book. Sometimes we can observe how similar word-plays take their origin in some new fashion. A certain class of society affects a peculiar way of pronouncing or transforming words, and the compliance with such whims becomes a kind of freemason's token, by which one shows himself as a member of fashionable society. Thus it was usual within certain circles in Paris, about 1830,

to add *mar* to every word, and to speak of *boulangemar* instead of *boulangier*, a baker; *cafemar* instead of *café*, coffee. That such a way of changing common words well deserves to be called an argot, is brought out by a comparison of the cant of the Yūsufzai badmāshes mentioned by Dr. Leitner,¹ where *miri* is added to every word.

The argots are chiefly used by criminals and disreputable individuals for the sake of secrecy. Their nature is, however, quite the same as that of the various kinds of play languages which we are accustomed to consider as desultory results of children's fancy. All such speeches must be compared, and it is of interest to observe how the methods are the same all over the world, just as a comparison of languages belonging to different linguistic families discloses a high degree of similarity in fundamental principles.

In India there have probably been argots from the most ancient times. It is possible that they have to some extent their origin in sacrificial rites. It would often be necessary to veil the actual meaning of a ceremony in order to prevent rivals and enemies from perverting it by means of sorcery and counter-rites. The curious words *ayavan*, dark fortnight; *yavan*, bright fortnight; *śabda*, day; *sagarā*, night; *yavya*, month; *sumēka*, year (*Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* i. 7.2.25ff.) seem to belong to such a sacrificial argot. The transmutations and changes of words which are sometimes prescribed in the old Sūtras, are perhaps of a similar kind, though the desire to avoid unlucky words also plays a rôle. The Indians, with their predilection for word-play and enigmatic language, must always have been especially qualified for devising means for disguising the meaning of their speech. An old example is found in the Mahābhārata (I. 5754ff.), where Vidura is represented as warning Yudhishtira, in the presence of a number of people, of impending treachery, in a jargon which only the speaker and his hearer could understand.²

There are, at the present day, many different argots in India. Captain, now Sir, R. C. Temple has explained the argot used by the Delhi Dalāls, or Brokers. This is a kind of speech which apparently has a very simple meaning, while some of the words used impart a second, hidden sense to those who are initiated. Thus an apparently innocent use of the numeral two or of words denoting such parts of the body as occur in pairs, conveys the meaning that the Dalāl claims a commission of two annas in the Rupee. Most Indian argots, and all those which are represented in the materials collected for the purposes of this Survey, are, however, of a different kind. They are artificial tongues which do not convey one meaning to the initiated ones and another to outsiders, but which are simply unintelligible to those who have not learnt them. This aim is attained by various means. There is, in the first place, a certain amount of peculiar words which are not used in ordinary speech. Such slang terms are apparently widely used, even by such tribes as have not developed a proper argot. Thus many of the criminal tribes of the Bombay Presidency have got them. Our information on the subject is, however, very imperfect, and it is, in most cases, impossible to state whence they have been taken. It is, on the other hand, noticeable how many of them are identical

¹ *Linguistic Fragments*, p. (xrv).

² The commentator Nilakanṭha says that this jargon made use of the language of outcastes (*mlechchhas*), which resembled the language of the country, but was ungrammatical and contained words in which syllables were omitted, added, or altered. He then gives examples.

in different argots. Thus the word *lug*, to die, is used in Sāsī, Kōlhātī, Kanjarī, Dōm, Naṭī, Gārōdī, Myānwālē, Gulguliā, and Sikalgārī; *dūt*, eat, occurs in the specimens of Sāsī, Kōlhātī, Kanjarī, Naṭī, Myānwālē, and Sikalgārī; *khum*, mouth, in Sāsī, Kōlhātī, Naṭī, and Gārōdī; *khaul*, *khaulā*, house, in Sāsī, Dōm, Naṭī, and Sikalgārī, and so forth. Such instances add strength to the conclusion arrived at above that there is a common base in many of these forms of speech. Even if we were able to trace each of these words back to its source, this would not prove anything in regard to the nature of this base. We have seen above how the peculiar words of European argots have been collected from the most different sources. The same is most certainly the case in India. We cannot therefore infer that the Kanjars of Belgaum or the Qasāis are of Arabic descent, because they use some Arabic numerals, or that the Sāsīs have anything to do with the Tibetans even if *bārmī*, wife, could be proved to be identical with Sherpa *permi*, or *chaṭ*, water, with Tibetan *chhu*. The great number of Hebrew words in Rotwaelsch warns us to be cautious in such matters. Still, considering the fact that ethnologists describe the most important Gipsy tribes as Dravidian, it is perhaps of some significance that several of the peculiar argot words seem to have a Dravidian origin. Thus we might compare Kanjarī *tu-khulē*, belly, with Kurukh *kūl*; Sāsī *lōṇā*, to beat, with Kurukh *lau'ā*; Myānwālē *gēlō*, boy, son, with Yerukala *gōvālyū*; Kanjarī and Sikalgārī *pāḍō*, bull, with Tamil *māḍu*; Dōm *ṭignā*, eat, with Tamil *timnu*; Sāsī *pīngī*, fire, with Kanarese *benki*; Dōm *kīchwā*, fire, with Kurukh *chich*; Kanjarī *tīl*, *tiūr*, give, with Tamil *tara*, Savara *tiñ*; Kanjarī *kīdō*, give, with Yerukala *kūḍ*; Myānwālē *hiṭwāḍ* (compare Giripārī Sirmaurī *hōṭ*), go, and *barwāḍ*, come, with Kanarese *hō*, go, Tamil *vara*, come, respectively; Sāsī *baunnā*, Kōlhātī *bōṇā*, Naṭī *būnā*, Myānwālē *bōṇō*, gold, with Tamil *pon*; Sāsī *kūdrā*, horse, with Tamil *kudirei*; Sāsī *khaulā*, Naṭī *khōllā*, Sikalgārī *khōl*, Malār *khaul*, house, with Gōlarī *khōli*, room, Malayālam *kudī*, house; compare Malār *khulsā*, husband, and Yerukala *khuliśi*, wife, the last syllable of which latter word should be compared with *śi* in *taṅśi*, sister; Sāsī *ṭuṇḍā*, Kōlhātī *taṇḍe*, Naṭī *ṭuṇḍā*, pig, with Tamil *panṇi*; Sāsī *binkṇā*, run, with Kurukh *boṅḡā*; Kanjarī, Sikalgārī *khēḍō*, Qasāi *khēḍā*, Kōlhātī *rhēḍā*, house, with Kanarese *khēḍā*; Kōlhātī *hēṭṭī*, wife, with Kanarese *heṇḍatī*, and so forth. I feel no doubt that we should be able to compare many more words, if we had a fuller knowledge of the argots. In face of the fact that comparatively many of these parallels have been taken from Kurukh, it is perhaps worth while recalling the Kurukh tradition that they have come from the Karnatic and proceeded eastwards along the Narbada, i.e. past the Vindhya. It may also be of interest in this place to make a note of some few details which will be mentioned below when dealing with the individual argots, such as the interchange between hard and soft sounds in Sāsī, Kōlhātī, Naṭī, etc., the disaspiration of aspirates and aspiration of unaspirated sounds in several argots; the frequent use of relative participles, of a negative verb, of certain pronouns and suffixes, and so on, in Kanjarī; the employment of *karkē*, having done, or similar forms with the meaning of Tamil *enru*, Yerukala *aṇḍa*, Sanskrit *iti*, etc., after a direct quotation, and so forth, though many of these features are also found in Pahārī and elsewhere.

Most words in the Indian argots are not, however, so far as we are able to judge with our present imperfect knowledge, peculiar to them, but belong to the common Aryan vocabulary of India. They are then adapted for use by various means of

-disguise, just as is the case in European argots. It is noticeable that the transposition of letters after the pattern of the English cant word *icelap*, police, plays a comparatively unimportant rôle in the materials at my disposal. I may note instances such as Sāsī *kābrā*=*bakrā*, goat; *chōmī*=*mōchī*, shoe-maker; *tēp*=*pēt*, belly; Gārōdī *ḍabō*=*baḍō*, big, and so forth. More common are changes by means of prefixed or suffixed syllables, which then often replace the beginning or the end, respectively, of the word. The details will be mentioned under each argot. In this place I shall only make some general remarks. The simplest way of disguising a word by means of a prefix is exactly the counterpart of the practice in the *p*-language and Zargarī. Thus in Sāsī *kha-kāl*, famine; *ḍha-gal*, neck, the syllables *kha*, *ḍha*, respectively, have simply been prefixed to the ordinary word. It is, however, still more common to drop the old initial in such cases; thus, Sāsī *khas*=*das*, ten; *jhūkhā*=*bhūkhā*, hungry. In some forms of Naṭī we find the initial added again at the end, thus, *mēt-khā*=*khēt*, field. In Malār *chahinbahin*=*bahin*, sister, we see the entire word in its original form added to the disguised word. These two last devices are of course more easily discovered, and they do not seem to be of common occurrence. With regard to prefixes I would add that we can, in a few cases, trace the existence of rules or rather tendencies which pervade all the argots. Thus *k* and *kh* are most commonly prefixed to words beginning with vowels; the palatals *ch*, *chh*, *j* and *jh* are almost exclusively used with such words as begin with labials; *nh* is a substitute for aspirated letters and also for *s*; and *r* is mostly used before or instead of gutturals. The fact that such is the practice in all our argots is a further indication that they have a common base.

The most usual state of affairs with regard to disguising suffixes is illustrated by words such as Sāsī *kauhgā*=*kahā*, said, where a single consonant is added. Words such as Sāsī, Kōlhāṭī *bāp-tā*, father, where a consonant followed by a vowel has been added, are of a similar kind. There are, however, also more complex additions, somewhat like the Parisian *cafemar*=*café*. The most common are additions after verbs, such as *sar* in Sāsī, Kōlhāṭī, Naṭī *ā-sar*, come, and *uar*, *wār*, *bār*, in numerous Kanjarī, Dōm, Qasāī, Malār and Myānwālē verbs, and so forth. We can also here notice how the same additions are used in the same way in more than one argot. Thus *k* or *g* is common after verbs ending in vowels or in *h* in Sāsī, Kōlhāṭī, Kanjarī, Naṭī, Myānwālē, and so on; additions containing an *r* are, as already remarked, common in verbs in many argots; additions such as Dōm *khailā*, Sikalgārī *khālā*, Kanjarū *ēlō*, Myānwālē *ēlū*, Malār *lu*, are clearly connected with each other. On the whole it seems certain that not only are the general principles the same in the different argots, but that their application in many cases follows identical lines in all of them.

Conclusions.

If we take a general view of all the facts, we will see that:—

1. the most important Gipsy tribes are classed by ethnologists as forming one race, of Dravidian features, which seem to have long led a migratory life, roaming over most of India;
2. many of them have traditions tracing their origin back to the Rājputs;
3. their dialects also point to the conclusion that the tribes have lived amongst people speaking Rājasthānī dialects, though—

INTRODUCTION.

4. some philological features show that there is a sub-structure of languages more related to Marāthī than to Rājasthānī ;
5. many of these tribes have developed a secret language based on their dialects ;
6. these argots contain several peculiar words which are common to many of them ;
7. the principles underlying the formation of these cant languages and also their application in individual cases present striking points of analogy in the different tribes ;
8. a certain number of the peculiar cant words seem to be Dravidian ; and
9. some Gipsy tribes speak Dravidian languages.

Taken together, all these points make it highly probable that the various Gipsy languages dealt with in the ensuing pages have a common origin, a language which was once spoken by a tribe of Dravidian race that came under the influence of Aryan tongues in a locality where languages akin to Marāthī had been spoken but had to give way to Rājasthānī. This would take us to the Vindhya and the country to the north of the Vindhyas, *i.e.* to the territories which the Aryans found occupied by Nishādas. The tribe or tribes in question have probably lived as vagrants from the most ancient times. With the growth of Aryan civilisation they would naturally choose as their stronghold localities where Aryan civilisation had not got a firm footing. The many Bhil dialects spoken in the hills from the Vindhya and northwards probably have a similar origin and might well be the tongues of descendants of such migratory tribes who had taken to a settled mode of life. Such questions should, however, for the time being be left to the consideration of ethnologists. It may, in this connexion, be noted that we find Gipsy tribes and also Bhils who, at the present day, still speak Dravidian tongues.

It has been remarked above that the denomination Gipsy does not imply any connexion with the Gipsies or Romany Chals of Europe. These latter have originally come from India, and it is well known how they resemble the Indian Gipsies in appearance and habits. It has also been pointed out that their language shows many points of correspondence with the dialect of Indian Gipsy tribes such as the Dōms. In this connexion it is worth while noting the similarity between European Gipsy words such as *gājō*, a gentile, *jukel*, dog, and Sāsī *kajjā*, Naṭī *kājā*, man ; Kanjarī *jhūkil*, Myānwālē *jukēlā*, Sāsī *chhūkal*, *bhūkal*, Kōlhātī *dhokkal*, dog. The language of the gipsies of Europe, however, points towards the extreme North-West of India, and the prevailing opinion amongst scholars seems to be that they have nothing to do with the Indian tribes whose dialects are here under consideration. The hypothesis might, however, be hazarded that members of the same vagrant race from which the Indian Gipsy tribes are descended came up to the North-West, and remained there long enough to adapt their language to the practice prevailing among frontier tribes. Some of them passed on before this adaptation took place and became the ancestors of the Armenian gipsies, whose language does not point to the north-western frontier but rather to Hindōstān. The bulk of these Gipsies later on brought their language, as modified among frontier tribes, to Europe, and became the ancestors of the Romany Chals.

PENḌHĀRĪ.

Under the name of 'Pindarees' the Penḍhārīs are well known in Indian history. They were plundering bands of freebooters who first came to notice after the fall of Tippoo Sultan of Mysore. Of no common race, and of no common religion, they welcomed to their ranks the outlaws and broken men of all India—Afghāns, Marāṭhās, or Jāts. They represented the debris of the Mughul empire, which had not been incorporated by any of the local Muhammadan or Hindū powers that sprang up out of its ruins. Their head-quarters were in Malwa, but their depredations were not confined to Central India. In bands, sometimes of a few hundreds, sometimes of many thousands, they rode out on their forays as far as the opposite coasts of Madras and of Bombay. The most powerful of the Penḍhārī captains, Amīr Khān, had an organised army of many regiments, and several batteries of cannon. Their power was finally broken by the Marquis of Hastings in 1817.

Their name is said to be derived from *pēṇḍhā*, a sheaf, and probably meant originally 'grasscutters.'

At the Census of 1911 the number of Penḍhārīs was returned as 6,413, 100 of whom were Hindūs and 6,313 Musalmāns.

They were distributed as follows :—

Central India Agency	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4,014
Elsewhere	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,399
										<hr/>
									TOTAL	6,413
										<hr/>

The only district which returned Penḍhārī as a separate language for this Survey was Dharwar of Bombay, which gave a total of 1,250 speakers. Specimens have, however, also been received from Belgaum (Bombay). In other districts Penḍhārī has probably been included under the head of Hindōstānī. It is used only as a home language by the tribe which speaks it. In their intercourse with other people, its speakers employ ordinary Hindōstānī.

To judge from the specimens Penḍhārī is a mixture of rough Dakhinī Hindōstānī with Marāṭhī and Rājasthānī. The particular dialect of the last mentioned language with which their Hindōstānī is mixed, seems to be Jaipurī. Compare *pūtā*, sons; *bāpā*, father; *chhē*, is; *chhā*, was. It is not necessary to discuss this jargon at length. I give two short specimens, one from each district. They both agree in all essential points. Note the use of *nē* as a postposition of the locative, present forms such as *uttarūnu*, I descend; *mārūnu*, I beat, where the final *nu* reminds us of the Dravidian termination of verbs, and the way in which *kar-kē*, having done, is used at the end of a quotation, like the Sanskrit *iti* and the Dravidian *andu*, having said,

[No. 1.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

PENDHARI.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT DHARWAR.

Kisi êk admī-kū dō pūtā chhē. Us-nē-sī nhānā pūt āpnē
Some one man-to two sons were. Them-in-from younger son own
 bāp-kū bōlā, 'bāp, mērē hissē-kū āwattō māl-kā bātā mijē dē.'
father-to said, 'father, my share-to coming property-of share to-me give.'
 Unē āpnī jindgī un-kū bāt-diyā. Thōdē din-kē picchē
By-him own property them-to was-divided. Few days-of after
 nhānā sab milā-kē êk dūr mulak-kū rasta liyā.
by-younger all having-gathered one distant country-to way was-taken.
 Whā unē dhundpanē-sē āpnā māl kharāb-kar-diyā. Sab
There by-him luxuriousness-with own property spoiled-was-made. All
 gamā-lē-kē aṅgē ō mulak-nē êk badā dukāl paḍā. Bhī unē
spent-having then that country-in one big famine fell. And by-him,
 garībī-nē rah-gayā. Unē ō mulak-kē êk admī-kē pās
poverty-in it-was-lived. By-him that country-of one man-of near
 jā-kar un-kū mil-kē rah-gayā. Unē isē suwrā
gone-having him-to joined-having it-was-lived. By-him him swine
 charānē-kū āpnē khētan-nē bhēj-diyā. Ō suwrā khānē-kā bhūsē-sī
feeding-for own fields-into it-was-sent. He swine eating-of husks-from
 āpnā pēt bharnē-kī khuṣī chhī, tab ō-bī usē kōyī
own belly filling-of happiness was, then that-even to-him by-anyone
 diyē nāī. Unē huṣār hō-kē, 'mērē bāp-kē kettē
was-given not. By-him sensible become-having, 'my father-of how-many
 majūrdāran-kū āpnē-kū bas hō-kē jāsti rahē ottē
servants-to themselves-for sufficient become-having more remained so-much
 rōṭyā rahwē-chhē. Huwā-tō-bī mai bhūk-sē marū. Mai
bread remained. Still I hunger-from die. I
 nikal-kē bāp-kē taraf jā-kē usē kahūgā, "arē bāp,
gone-out-having father-of direction gone-having to-him will-say, "O father,
 mai tērē sāmnē bhī Allā-kē uppar gunhā karā. Is-kē aṅgē
by-me of-thee before and God-of against sin was-done. This-of after
 tērā pūt kawā-lēnē-kū mai lāyakh nāī. Tērē majūrī-kē jāwānan-nē êk
thy son being-called-for I worthy not. Thy hire-of servants-in one

kar-kē mijē bī ' rakh," kar-kē bōlū,' kar-kē boi-liyā.
made-having me also keep," said-having may-say,' said-having it-was-said.

Uṭh-kē āpnē bāp-kanē āyā. Chhēto unē abī rastā lhai
Arisen-having own father-near came. But for-him still way much
 dūr chhī-tō us-kā bāp usē dēkh-kē mehar lakā-kē
far was-then his father him seen-having mercy applied-having

nhāt-kē jā-kē galē mil-kē usē mukkā diyā.
run-having gone-having neck embraced-having to-him kiss was-given.

Pūt usē, 'bāp Allā-kē uppar bhi tērā ākhā-kē sāmne mai gunhā
Son to-him, 'father God-of against and thy eyes-of before by-me sin

karā. Ab angē kadī-bī mai tērā pūt kawā-liyē sarikā nai,'
was-done. Now after ever-even I thy son calling-for fit not,'

kar-kē bōlā. Chhētō-bī bāp-nē āpnē naukar-lōkā-kū, 'lhai chōkōt
said-having said. Yet father-by own servants-to, 'very good

jhagē-kū bhār lakā-kē usē pirā bhī us-kē hāt-kū angūṭī
coat out brought-having him dress and his hand-to ring

bhā-kē pāw-kū pāpsā dēō. Bhī haman khā-kē khuśī-sē
put-having feet-on shoes give. And we eaten-having happily

rhaī. Kāy-kayē-tō ē mērā pūt mar-gayā chhā-tō, phir-kē
should-stay. Why-said-then this my son dead-gone was, again

jītā huwā; gayā-chhā-tō, phir-kē milā,' kar-kē bōlā. Bh.
alive became; gone-was, again was-found,' said-having it-was-said. And.

unan khuśī kar-nē lāgē.
they merry to-make began.

[No. 2.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

PEN̐DHĀRĪ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Dhūp kāl-nē ēk kōlā bahut pyās lāg-kē jāngal-nē phir-kē
Heat time-at one fox much thirst felt-being wood-in rambling
 pāṇī dhunḍā, lēkin kṣā-bī naī milā. Pichhē-sī ḍōngī
water searched, but anywhere not it-was-found. At-last deep
 thaddē-nē thōḍā pāṇī khāḍ-rākē dēkh-kē agāḍī-kā dhyān naī
pit-in a-little- water standing seen-having future-of thought no.
 kar-kē us-kē bich-nē kudā. Whā khūb pāṇī
made-having it-of the-midst-in he-jumped. There much water
 pī-kē phir-kē uppar āṇē-kū wāstē chintā karā.
drunk-having again up coming-for for-the-sake thinking was-made.
 Usē rastā-ch naī chhī, ō-sabab whā-ch taṭṭ-kē
To-that way not was, (for-)that-reason there-indeed being-in-a-fox
 khāḍ-rā-kē lhai phikīr karā. Ottē-nē-ch ēk ṭagar wō-ch
standing much anxiety was-made. That-much-in one goat that-very
 rāstē-sī pyās lāg-kē ā-kē khaddē-nē kōlē-kū dēkhā. Tab
road-from thirst felt-being coming pit-in fox it-was-seen. Then
 ō ṭagar, 'hō kōlā bā, tū lai śānā, haman sab pyās
that goat, 'O fox father, thou much clever, we all thirst
 lāg-kē maran; kīsē naī mālum kar-kē tū ēkla-ch
felt-being die; to-anybody not known made-having thou alone-quite
 ā-kē pāṇī pīnū; achchhā, rhan-dē, māī bī tallē utarūnu;
coming water drinkest; well, be-let, I too down descend;
 pāṇī kaī chhē?' kar-kē pūchhā. Usē kōlā, 'dōs, kettā
water how is?' saying asked. To-that fox, 'friend, how-much
 miṭṭā kar-kē bōlū? Ē pāṇī agāḍī amīr sarkā chhē.
sweet saying may-I-say? This water quite nectar like is.
 Tū āyā, bahut chakōṭ huwā; jaldī ā-kē pāṇī pī, bhī
Thou camest, much good became; quickly coming water drink, and
 kōṇ-tō-bī āy-tō tujē milnē-kē naī,' kar-kē bōlā. Ē
anyone-else comes-if to-thee getting-of not,' saying said. This
 phasāṇē-kī bāt sun-kē wō diwānā ṭagar tallē kudī-mār-kē
cunning-of word heard-having that silly goat down jumped-having

awal pēt bhar-kē pānī piyā. Pichhē-sī uppar ānē-kū
first belly filled-having water was-drunk. Afterwards up coming-for
 wāstē ō dōnō mil-kē bahut wakat phikir karā.
in-order those both joined-having much time anxiety was-made.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

In summer, a fox being very thirsty and looking for water on all sides, rambled in the forest, but to no purpose. At last he found a little water in a deep pit and jumped into it not heeding the future consequence. There he drank water to his heart's content and began to meditate as to how he was to get out, but there was no way.

Therefore, there he was, a close prisoner, and fell to thinking. Meanwhile, a goat being thirsty, chanced to come down to the very pit by the same road and seeing a fox in it, said,—‘Oh, sir Fox, you are very clever indeed; we are all dying of thirst, while you drink water here, having come all alone without the knowledge of anybody. Very well, I too will come down; how is the water?’

Upon this the fox said,—‘Oh, friend, it is too sweet to describe. This water tastes just like nectar. You are welcome, come soon and drink it. If anybody else happen to come here, you may not get it.’

At this cunning advice, the silly goat jumped down and drank his fill. Then they both consulted for a long time how to effect their escape.

BHĀMṬĪ.

The Bhāmṭās are a criminal class who are especially active as railway thieves. It seems probable that their original home was the Telugu-speaking country. At the present day, however, settlements are to be found in several of the districts and native states in and bordering on the Bombay Presidency. At the Census of 1911, 4,270 Bhāmṭās were returned from the Central Provinces and Berar and none from elsewhere.

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The fullest accounts of the Bhāmṭās which I have seen are in pp. 464 and ff. of Part I of the *Poona Gazetteer*, in pp. 3 and ff. of *The History of Railway Thieves with Hints on Detection*, by M. Paupa Rao Naidu, Madras, 1900, and in pp. 16 and ff. of the *Notes on Criminal Classes in the Bombay Presidency*, by M. Kennedy, Bombay, 1908.

¹ See above, Vol. IV, pp. 607ff.

[No. 3.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BHĀMTĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT NAGPUR.

Koi-ēk ādmī-kū dō pōryā chhē. Us-mā-kā nānā pōryā
A-certain man-to two sons were. Them-in-of the-younger son
 bābā-kū kahā-chhu, 'us-mē-kā mē-kō mērā hissā dē.' Phēr us-nē
the-father-to said, 'that-in-of me-to my share give.' Then him-by
 us-kō daulat-kā hissā bāt-diyā-chhē. Phēr thōdē dīn hōyē-chhē
him-to the-property-of share was-divided. Then a-few days passed-had
 nānā pōryā sab jamā lē-kē dūr dēs gayā-chhē. Aur
the-younger son all estate taken-having far country went. And
 wahā jā-kē bēakkal-sē paisā khōyā-chhē. Phēr sab
there gone-having indiscriminately money he-squandered. And all
 kharch-nē-kē bād us dēs-mē bādā kāl padā-chhē. Ibē
spending-of after that country-in great famine fell. Thereby
 us-kō bipat padī-chhē. Ibē ō kāī us dēs-kō bhalē ādmī-kē
him-to want befell. Then he some that country-of a-good man-of
 jāurē rahā-chhē. Us-nē us-kō apnā khēt-mē dukar charānē-kō
near remained. Him-by him-to his-own field-in swine feeding-for
 lagāyā-chhē. Ibē dukar-kā bhusā khā-kē pēt bharan-kō
it-was-employed. Then the-swine-of husks eaten-having belly filling-of
 bichār kiyā-chhē. Kōī-nē us-kō kāī-nā diyā-chhē.
thought made-was. Any-body-by him-to anything-not given-was.

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BHĀMTĪ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT NAGPUR.

Ēk Birbal-kā bēṭā chhā, ēk rājā-kā bēṭā chhā. Un-kī baḍī
 One Birbal-of son was, one king-of son was. Them-of great
 dōstī rahē. Dōi-kā dil ēk chhā. Un-nē kahā kē,
 friendship existed. Both-of mind one was. Them-by it-was-said that,
 'jis-kā bihāw pahilē hōgā un-nē apnī bāykō dusrē-kē ghar
 'whose marriage first will-be him-by his-own wife other's house
 paṭhāw-nā.' Bādśāhā-kē bēṭē-kā bihāw pahilē huā. Us-kī
 is-to-be-sent.' The-king-of son-of marriage first became. His
 barāt baḍē dhūm-sū āi-chhē. Phir us-kū ēk bistar-par
 marriage-procession great pomp-with came. Then him-to one bed-upon
 hō-kē dōst-kī yād āi-chhē. Phēr ō apnē mēhārū-kū
 become-having friend-of recollection came. Then he his-own wife-to
 kahi-chhē kē, 'pahilē tū Birbal-kē yahā jā-kē āw; mērā
 said that, 'first thou Birbal's here gone-having come; my
 kaul-bachan huā-chhē.' O phēr Birbal-kē yahā hāt-mō pachārtī
 promise become-is.' She then Birbal's here the-hand-in five-lamps
 lē-kē gai-chhē. Us-kū rastē-mā chār chōr milē-chhē. Us-kā
 taken-having went. Her-to street-in four thieves met. Her
 sab dāginā utārē-rahē. Un-nē kahī kē, 'tū mērā
 all ornaments taking-off-they-were. Her-by it-was-said that, 'thou my
 dāginā kā utārē-chhē? Mē-kō Birbal-kē hā-sō ā-jān-dē;
 ornaments why art-taking-off? Me-to Birbal's here-from let-go-and-come;
 phir mērā sab dāginā utār-lē.' Chōr-nē kahyā, 'yā bī
 then my all ornaments take-off.' The-thieves-by it-was-said, 'she too
 bēs kai-chhē.' Yēk chōr wahā buiṭhā. Tīn chōr gayē chōrī
 well said.' One thief there sat. Three thieves went theft
 karan-kū. Phir yā gai Birbal-kē yahā. Birbal-nē us-kō
 committing-for. Then she went Birbal's here. Birbal-by her-as-to
 dēkhī-chhē. Palāṅ-par bathāi-chhē. Bathā-kē apnē dil-mē
 she-was-seen. A-bed-on she-was-made-to-sit. Seated-having his-own the-mind-in
 sōch karā kē, 'badśāhā sāhnē-bī uttēhī chhē aur gawār-bī
 consideration was-made that, 'the-king wise-also that-much is and a-fool-also

awal pēt bhar-kē pāni piyā. Pichhē-sī uppar ānē-kū
first belly filled-having water was-drunk. Afterwards up coming-for
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the-father-to said, 'that-in-of me-to my share give.' Then him-by
 us-kō daulat-kā hissā bāt-diyā-chhē. Phēr thōḍē dīn hōyē-chhē
him-to the-property-of share was-divided. Then a-few days passed-had
 nānā pōryā sab jamā lē-kē dūr dēs gayā-chhē. Aur
the-younger son all estate taken-having far country went. And
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there gone-having indiscriminately money he-squandered. And all
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 us-kō bipat paḍī-chhē. Ibē ō kāk us dēs-kō. bhalē ādmī-kē
him-to want befell. Then he some that country-of a-good man-of
 jaurē rahā-chhē. Us-nē us-kō apnā khēt-mē ḍukar charānē-kō
near remained. Him-by him-to his-own field-in swine feeding-for
 lagāyā-chhē. Ibē ḍukar-kā bhusā khā-kē pēt bharan-kō
it-was-employed. Then the-swine-of husks eaten-having belly filling-of
 bichār kiya-chhē. Kōi-nē us-kō kāk-nā diyā-chhē.
thought made-was. Any-body-by him-to anything-not given-was.

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GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BHĀMTĪ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT NAGPUR.

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One Birbal-of son was, one king-of son was. Them-of great
 dōstī rahē. Dōi-kā dil ēk chhā. Un-nē kahā kē,
friendship existed. Both-of mind one was. Them-by it-was-said that,
 'jis-kā bihāw pahilē hōgā un-nē apnī bāyko dusrē-kē ghar
'whose marriage first will-be him-by his-own wife other's house
 paṭhāw-nā.' Bādśāhā-kē bēṭe-kā bihāw pahilē huā. Us-kī
is-to-be-sent.' The-king-of son-of marriage first became. His
 barāt baḍē dhūm-sū āi-chhē. Phir us-kū ēk bistar-par
marriage-procession great pomp-with came. Then him-to one bed-upon
 hō-kē dōst-kī yād āi-chhē. Phēr ō apnē mēhārū-kū
become-having friend-of recollection came. Then he his-own wife-to
 kahi-chhē kē, 'pahilē tū Birbal-kē yahā jā-kē āw; mērā
said that, 'first thou Birbal's here gone-having come; my
 kaul-bachan huā-chhē.' O phēr Birbal-kē yahā hāt-mō pachārtī
promise become-is.' She then Birbal's here the-hand-in five-lamps
 lē-kē gaī-chhē. Us-kū rastē-mā chār chōr milē-chhē. Us-kā
taken-having went. Her-to street-in four thieves met. Her
 sab dāginā utārē-rahē. Un-nē kahī kē, 'tū mērā
all ornaments taking-off-they-were. Her-by it-was-said that, 'thou my
 dāginā kā utārē-chhē? Mē-kō Birbal-kē hā-sō ā-jān-dē;
ornaments why art-taking-off? Me-to Birbal's here-from let-go-and-come;
 phir mērā sab dāginā utār-lē.' Chōr-nē kahyā, 'yā bī
then my all ornaments take-off.' The-thieves-by it-was-said, 'she too
 bēs kaī-chhē.' Yēk chōr wahā buiṭhā. Tīn chōr gayē chōrī
well said.' One thief there sat. Three thieves went theft
 karan-kū. Phir yā gaī Birbal-kē yahā. Birbal-nē us-kō
committing-for. Then she went Birbal's here. Birbal-by her-as-to
 dēkhī-chhē. Palāṅ-par baṭhāi-chhē. Baṭhā-kē apnē dil-mē
she-was-seen. A-bed-on she-was-made-to-sit. Seated-having his-own the-mind-in
 sōch karā kē, 'badśāhā sāhnē-bī uttēhī chhē aur gawār-bī
consideration was-made that, 'the-king wise-also that-much is and a-fool-also

uttēhī chhē, kē apnī sēj-kī bāykō mērē yahā pathāi-chhē.
that-much is, because his-own bed-of wife my here sent-is.

Us-kō kahā, 'itnē din ō mērā bhāi rahā, ibbē tū
Her-to it-was-said, 'so-many days he my brother was, therefore thou
 bhān huī-chhē. Wō mērā bahinōī huwā.' Wajir-nē
sister become-art. He my brother-in-law became.' The-minister-by

us-kō lugdā āngī pahērā-chhē, aur achchhē bhārī pāch dāginē
her-to a-veil a-bodice was-put-on, and best valuable five ornaments

diyē-chhē, kahā, 'bāi, tū jā.' Bāi rastē-sū chalī.
were-given, it-was-said, 'lady, thou go.' The-lady the-street-by went.

Ek chōr rastā-mā bathā rahē. Us-kō bāi-nē kahī, 'mērē
One thief on-the-road seated was. Him-to the-lady-by it-was-said, 'my
 sab dāginē utār-lē. Mē-kō pāch dāginē jāstī milē-chhē.'
all ornaments take-off. Me-to five ornaments more have-been-obtained.'

Uttī bāt-chit hō-rahī-chhē tō tin chōr āyē-chhē. Un-kō
That-much conversation going-on-was then the-thrēe thieves came. Them-to
 aisī chōrī mili-chhē kō sāt pidhī khāyē tō
such a-theft was-obtained that seven generations if-they-eat then

sarē-nā. Chōr-nē kahā kē, 'terā pāyraw
it-would-be-exhausted-not. The-thieves-by it-was-said that, 'thy footfall
 bēs lagā. Ham-kū chōrī khub mili-chhē Tō ham-sū
good has-been-proved. Us-to theft great obtained-was. Therefore us-from

pāch dāginē lē-lē.' Chōr-nē pāch dāginē diyē-chhē. Phir
five ornaments take.' The-thieves-by five ornaments given-were. Then

bādsāhā-kē jōrē āi-chhē. Bādsāhā-nē dil-mē sōsā kē, 'dil
the-king-of near she-came. The-king-by mind-in it-was-thought that, 'the-heart

chār-mā kis-kā badā chhē ?
the-four-among whose great is ?

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

There was once a Prime Minister named Bīrbal, who had a son. The king, his master, also had a son. These two were great friends, and had all their thoughts and wishes in common, so they agreed that whichever of the two was married first should send his wife to the other's house. The king's son was the one that was first married, and the bride came home to the palace with great pomp. When the prince came to bed with her, he remembered his friend, and said to her, 'You must first go to Bīrbal's house. I must keep my promise.' So she started off for Bīrbal's house, carrying in her hand the five lustration lamps of her wedding night.

On the way she met four thieves, who straightway began to relieve her of all ornaments. Said she, 'Why are you taking off my ornaments? Let me first go to Bīrbal's house, and afterwards come back to you. Then you can take them.' The thieves approved of this suggestion, and left one of their number sitting there, while the other three went off to look for more booty.

So she went on to Bīrbal's house. Bīrbal,¹ as soon as he saw her, made her to sit upon a bed, and thought in his mind, 'The king is partly wise, and partly a fool; for he has sent here, to me, the wife of his own bed.' Then he said to her, 'For many days your husband has been my brother. Now I look upon you as my sister, and on him as my sister's husband.' Then he gave her a present of a handsome veil and a bodice, and of five valuable jewels, and told her to go home. So she went back by the way she had come, and found the thief sitting where she had left him.

'Now,' said she, 'take off all my ornaments. I have got five more than I had when you saw me last.' While they were talking the three other thieves came up. They had been so successful in their thefts that they had got booty sufficient to feed seven generations without being exhausted. They said, 'Your footsteps have brought us good luck. We have found enormous booty. So we will not take your ornaments. Please accept five more ornaments from us.' So they gave her five ornaments, and she returned to the king, and told him her adventures. The king wondered in his heart which among the four had shown the greatest nobility of character.

¹ The story is confused. It should be Bīrbal's son who acts as described. The king is also similarly confused with his son.

BĒLDĀRĪ.

Bēldār literally means one who works with the *bēl* or mattock. It is a general term for the aggregate of low Hindū tribes who make their living by earth work. The number of Bēldārs returned at the Census of 1911 was as follows :—

Bengal	9,294
Bihar and Orissa	88,912
Bombay	12,398
Central Provinces and Berar	25,616
United Provinces	39,035
Central India Agency	26,378
Elsewhere	3,787
TOTAL	205,420

The majority of these Bēldārs probably speak the same dialect as their surroundings. According to Sir Herbert Risley the Bēldārs of Bihar and Western Bengal form a separate wandering caste of Dravidian origin. The same is perhaps also the case in some other districts. The word Bēldār is accordingly used in two different senses denoting sometimes a distinct caste, sometimes all low caste earth-workers. It is impossible to decide how many of the Bēldārs enumerated at the last Census in the various provinces belong to either group.

During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Bēldārī was returned from Rajputana, Berar and Bombay. The estimated numbers of speakers were as follows :—

Rajputana, Jaisalmir State	100
Berar—	
Amraoti	800
Ellichpur	500
Buldana	585
	1,885
Bombay Presidency—	
Thana	2,560
Satara	350
Satara Agency, State Aundh	15
" " State Phaltan	40
Kolhapur State	50
Southern Maratha Jaghirs	200
	3,155
TOTAL	5,140

The returns of the last Census do not furnish us with materials for checking these figures.

Specimens of the so-called Bēldārī have been received from Ellichpur and Buldana, from the Jaisalmir State, and from the Ramdurg State. Though the dialect differs in the different districts, being more or less influenced by the prevailing

languages, there are some characteristic features which recur everywhere, and it is accordingly possible to speak of a separate dialect. Bēldārī is not, however, a fixed form of speech with consistent features. Like Ōḍkī it is a mixture. The prevailing elements are Marāṭhī and Eastern Rājasthānī. To the former language belongs forms such as the plurals *bēṭē*, sons (Ramdurg); *nāḍē*, tanks (Jaisalmir); *daūs*, to a father (Buldana); *maṇsān*, to a man (Ramdurg); *danāt*, in days (Ramdurg); the oblique bases in *ā* of weak nouns such as *dishā-sū*, from a direction (Jaisalmir); *uthāṇḍ-panā-sē*, in riotousness (Ellichpur); the genitive termination *chā* in the Jaisalmir and Ramdurg specimens, the common termination *lā* of the past tense, and so forth. Rājasthānī elements are forms of strong bases such as *pōryā*, sons; *chhōṭō*, small (Ellichpur); *ghōṛō*, horse (Jaisalmir) (but also *kuttā*, dog; compare also *ghōṛē*, horses; *ghōṛiyā*, mares); the dative suffixes *-nē* (Amraoti, Ramdurg, Jaisalmir); *-nā*, *nū* (Jaisalmir); *-kē* (Buldana) and *-ku* (Ellichpur); compare Mālvi *-nē*, *-kē*, *-kū*; the genitive suffix *-kō*, *-kā*, *-kī* (Ellichpur, Buldana); compare Mēwātī, Jaipurī and Mālvi *-kō*, *-kī*; the ablative suffixes *-sē* and *-sū*; compare Mālvi *-sē*, *-sū*; the past tense in *yō*, *ō*, which is used side by side with forms in *-lā*; forms such as *marū*, I die; *kahū*, I may say (Ellichpur); *marē-hē*, I am dying (Jaisalmir); *kahus*, I shall say (Buldana) and so forth.

It would also be possible to compare some of the *l*-forms of the past with Ōṛiyā, and the common *mōr*, *mōra*, my, mine, seems connected with forms in Eastern languages. It is accordingly likely that there is also an admixture of Eastern vernaculars. The chief components of Bēldārī are, however, of the same kind as in Ōḍkī. With that form of speech there are also other points of agreement; thus the pronoun *tudā* thy; conjunctive participles such as *kartī*, having done, and so forth. Note the curious form *mērē-ku*, me, an idiom frequent in Dakhinī Hindōsthānī, and also finding parallels in Eastern languages, as in the Bihārī *hamarā-kē*, with the same meaning.

It would, however, be waste of time and paper to go further into details. The general character of this mixed form of speech will be sufficiently apparent from the specimens which follow. The first is the beginning of a version of the Parable from Ellichpur. It will be seen that the Rājasthānī element is rather strong in the Bēldārī of Ellichpur

[No. 5.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BELDĀRĪ.

DISTRICT ELLICHPUR.

Ēk admī-kē dō pōryā bhayē. Ō-mē-kō chhōtō pōryā bāpē
One man-of two sons were. Them-in-of younger by-son father-to
 kahyē, 'dādā, jē jingī-kō hisā āyē, ō mōhē dē.'
it-was-said, 'father, which property-of share comes, that me give.'
 Phir ō-na sampat bāt-kē dī. Phir thōdē din-mē chhōtō
Then him-by property dividing was-given. Then few days-in small
 pōryā sab jamā kar-kē dūr dēs-mē gayō, whā ō-nē
son all together having-made far country-in went, there him-by
 uṭhaṇḍpanā-sē aplō paisā udā dīyō. Ō-nē sab kharchē-par
riotousness-in own money wasting was-given. Him-by all spent-on
 ōnē mulak-mē bahōt dukāl paḍō, ō-nē paisā-kī adchan paḍan
that country-in much famine fell, him-to money-of want to-fall
 lāgī. Phir ōnē dēs-kē ēk griha-kē jōrē jā-kē
began. Then that country-of one householder-of near having-gone
 rahyō, ō-nē ōhē āpnē khēt-mē ḍukar charā-nē bhējō. Tab
stayed, him-by him own fields-in swine feeding-for was-sent. Then
 ḍukar jō ṭarphal khāt hōē, ō-sē āpnā pēt bhar-nō,
swine which husks eating were, those-from own belly should-be-filled,
 asī ō-kē man-mē āī; ō-nē kachhu kōhī didā nahī.
thus his mind-in came; him-to anything by-anyone was-given not.
 Phir ō sud-par ān-kē bōlō, 'mōrē bāp-kī kittē rōjdār-ku
Then he sense-in having-come said, 'my father-of how-many servants-to
 bharpūr rōṭī hai, aur mī bhūk-sē marū. Mē uṭh-kē āpnē
richly bread is, and I hunger-from die. I having-arisen own
 bāp-kē itē jāū aur ōhē kahū, "ē dādā, mē dēw-kē
father-of near may-go and to-him may-say, "O father, by-me God-of
 jōrē aur tōrē dēkhat pāp karē. Abhī-sē tōrā pōryā kahnē
near and thy in-sight sin was-done. Now-from thy son to-say
 lāyak mī nahīyā. Ek mahindār sarikō mērē-ku rakh.'"
worthy I not-am. One servant like me keep.'"

The next specimen hails from Buldana. It is of the same kind as the preceding. It is not a good specimen, and the noting down of the different sounds does not seem to be quite accurate. I give the text as I have received it.

[No. 6.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BELDĀRĪ.

DISTRICT BULDANA.

Kōn ēk duhī lāwdā hōtā. Dunun-mē-sē lahānā
Some one(-of) two sons were. Both-in-from by-younger-one
 daūs kahlā, 'daū, mōrē hissā-kī jingī ma-kē dē.
father-to it-was-said, 'father, my share-of property me-to give.'
 Mhanūn daū-na jingī dunun-kē bāt dī. Thōra din-mē.
Therefore father-by property both-to dividing was-given. Few days-in
 lahānā āplī jingī lē-kan dusrē gāw-pē gēla. Yā-sē
small-one own property having-taken other village-to went. This-from
 gēla āpna jingī chain-se udāi. Yē ritī-sē paīsa
went own property merry-making-in was-wasted. This way-in money
 chain-mē udāē, maṅg baḍā kāl gira. Kāl girla
merry-making-in were-wasted, afterwards big famine fell. Famine fell
 mhanjē pañchāil girla. Khāē-kē maṅg jāy-kūn dusrē-kē
then difficulty fell. Eating-for begging having-gone another-of
 gharē raha. Wō-nē dukhar rākhē-kē dharī. Wō-kē gharē
in-house remained. Him-by swine tending-for was-kept. His in-house
 kōṇḍā dukhar-kā khāēl u-ch āpnē kōṇḍā khāēl dēl tar pēt
husks swine-of ate that-even him-by husks ate gave then belly
 bharēl; wuhī ō-nē dīl nahī. Yē-lartā ākh ughaḍ gayī,
filled; that-even him-to was-given not. This-for eyes opened went,
 tab āpnē-kē kah lagā, 'āpna dāū-kē jōḍ naukar paīsā
then himself-to to-say began, 'own father-of near servants money
 ur-kan purī, mī yāsā upāsī marna. Āb jā-kan
being-to-spare was-filled, I this-like by-hunger die. Now having-gone
 dāū-kē kahus, "dāū, dēw-kā tōra aprādh fār mē-nē karē.
father-to will-say, "father, God-of of-thee sin much me-by was-done.
 Mī tōra lāwdā hōy-kan lēā-kā dayā nihē. Tē āpnā majur
I thy son having-become taking-of mercy not. Thou own servant
 sārkhā bagā." ' Asē vichār kar-kan āpnē dāū-kē attē
like consider." ' So consideration made-having own father-of near
 āla. Wō ātā-ch dūr-sē dāū-nē dēkhē; wō-kē dayā āil,
came. He coming far-from father-by was-seen; him-to mercy came,
 āpnē lāwdā-kē garē-mē hāt dālī, wō-nē mukā lēi.
own son-of neck-on hands were-thrown, him-by kisses were-taken.

Lāwdā dāū-kē kahyālā, 'dāū, mē-nē dēw-kā tōra badā aprādh
Son father-to said, 'father, me-by God-of of-thee great sin
 karē. Ab tōra lāwdā āē-kē mōra dayā nahī.' Dāū-nē
was-made. Now thy son come-to my mercy not.' Father-by
 uttam pōshāk lāwdā-kē āng-pē, hāth-mē āngthī, pāw-mē panhī dāri.
best robe son-of body-on, hand-on ring, foot-on shoes were-put.
 Āpnē chākar-sē kahī, āndī kahyalā, 'āj āpan
Own servants-to having-said, also said, 'to-day we
 khāē-piē-kē chain karē; karan āj mōra lāwdā
having-eaten-and-drunk merriment may-make; because to-day my son
 marēl, asē samjat rahēl, wō āj parat āla; ib wō āj
died, thus thinking I-was, he to-day back came; and he to-day
 gēla, tē sāpadla.' Mhanūn sab ānand karē lagē.
went, he was-found.' Then all joy to-make began.

Specimens have also been received from the Jaisalmir State, and two of them will be printed below. The first is a song sung by Bēldārs in the rainy season; the second a hymn which they recite in the early mornings and especially at the Hōlī festival. The Bēldārī of Jaisalmir is of the same kind as that illustrated in the preceding pages. Forms such as *māṇsā-chē*, of a man; *dēsā-chē*, of a country; *Rāmā-chē*, of God; *kuttā*, a-dog, occur in other Jaisalmir specimens. The general nature of the Bēldārī of the State is, however, well illustrated by the two short specimens which follow.

[No. 7.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BĒLDĀRĪ.

STATE JAISALMIR.

SPECIMEN I.

Kālōri kalhyān umatti, ālā mhi, bharlē nādē nāḍiyē bharlē
Black clouds overhanging, came rain, filled tanks small-tanks filled

Bhim talāw.

Bhim tank.

Sātā sēliā-chē jhūlrē gēli pānī talāw; sāt sahiā pūṭhi
Seven female-friends-of in-company went water tank; seven friends back
 bharti gēli, hēkalṛi rēli talāw.
having-filled went, alone remained (at-)the-tank.

Pachchham dishā-sū ōṭhi ālā.
Western direction-from camel-rider came.

‘Bḥjō sahiā rē kājal ṭibhiā, tudē kā bringē
Other to-friends O collyrium forehead-ornaments, thy why dirty
 bēsh?’
dress?’

‘Bijā-jē sāhabē gharē basī, mājō basē pardēs.’
Others-of husbands in-house dwell, mine dwells abroad.’

‘Gharā paṭak-dē tālā-mā, ā māchī lārē.’
Pots throw tank-in, come of-me with.’

‘Bālā-jālā tudī jabān, māē nākhā sēmṛī lūṇ.’
I-may-burn thy tongue, in-it I-may-put Sambhar salt.’

‘Hak ōṭhi manā kahē, mārī sāsū-jī ō-lō, “ā-jā māchī
One camel-rider me-to said, my mother-in-law O, “come of-me

lār.” ‘Kē sarikā phūṭrā, kē-chē ṇiār?’
with.” ‘What like beautiful, whose features?’

‘Māchē dēwar sarikā phūṭrā, māchī nandal-chē ṇiār.’
My brother-in-law like beautiful, my husband’s-sister-of features.’

‘Bālā-jālā tudī jibṛī, tudā parṇō-rā bhartār.’
I-may-burn thy tongue, thy married husband.’

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Dark clouds have been overhanging, and the rain has come. Tanks and reservoirs and also the Bhīm tank are filled.

A woman went with seven friends to fetch water from the tank. The seven friends returned home after having filled their pots, and she remained alone at the tank.

Meanwhile a man riding on a camel arrived from the west and said to her :—

‘The other girls have put collyrium in their eyes and ornaments on their foreheads. Why is your dress dirty ?’

(She replied—)

‘The other ones have got their husbands at home, but mine is abroad.’

(Then he said—)

‘Throw the water pot into the tank, and come along with me.’

(She replied—)

‘I shall burn your tongue and put Sambhar salt on it.’

(She then returned home and said to her mother-in-law—)

‘A camel *sōwār* said to me, O mother-in-law, “come along with me.”’

(The mother-in-law asked—)

‘How did he look and what were his features like ?’

(She replied—)

‘He had the beauty of my brother-in-law and the features of my husband’s sister.’

(On this the mother-in-law rebuked her and said—)

‘I shall burn your tongue, he was thy own husband.’

[No. 8.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BELDĀRĪ.

STATE JAISALMER.

SPECIMEN II.

Har uṭh milti-kē Bharat bhāū, Har ālā
Hari having-arisen having-embraced Bharata brother, Hari came
 uṭh milti-kē.
having-arisen having-embraced.

Bāh pasārti millē dun bhāū, nēnā-mā nīr ralakti
Arms having-extended embraced both brothers, eyes-in water rolling
 ālā.
came.

‘Kē nī rē bhāū baṇ-khaṇḍa-chyā bātā, kēri kēri bipat
 ‘*Sayst not O brother woods-of tales, what what mishap*
 bhugattī ālā.’
having-suffered camest.

‘Ban phal khāēlā pān bichhāēlā, ēri ēri bipat
 ‘*Forest fruits were-eaten leaves were-spread, such such mishap*
 bhugattī ālā.’
having-suffered came.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Having arisen, Rāma came, embracing his brother Bharata. Rāma came, having arisen, and embraced him.

Having extended their arms both brothers embraced, and their eyes filled with tears.

(Bharata asked) : ‘Will you not relate, O brother, the tales of the forest; what kind of troubles you had to undergo?’

(Rāma said) : ‘The fruits of the forest I ate, and the leaves of the forest I used as bed. Such troubles have I endured.’

The Beldārī of the Ramdurg State seems to be of a similar kind, though the Marāṭhī element is somewhat stronger. It will be sufficient to print the beginning of a version of the Parable as illustration.

[No. 9.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BĒLDĀRĪ.

STATE RAMDURG.

Ekē bā-nē dōn bēṭē hilall. Vē-chī nēnkē bēṭē-nē bā-nē
One father-to two sons were. Them-of younger son-by father-to
 kēlē, 'jingānī-ma mana bāṭnī da.' Dō-janī bēṭēyān bāṭnī
it-was-said, 'property-in me-to share give.' Two-persons sons-to shares
 kartī dili. Kai-ēk danāt nēnkā-nē saglī jindgī hililī
making were-given. Some days-in younger-one-by all property was
 gīti lambē mulkān gēlā. Uḍa jāti manān wāṭal jō-pār
having-taken far country-to went. There going mind-to appeared as-far
 dain kēli. Uḍa jāti kāḷ padlā. Vēn kharchan nahī,
wasting was-done. There going famine fell. Him-to to-spend was-not,
 mōṭ chintam padlā. Vē mulkā-mē ēkē māṇsān jāti vē māṇsāē
great anxiety fell. That country-in one man-to going that man-by
 yēn malkī gīti vē māṇsā-nē ḍukrē rākhnē-nā mellā. Vē
him appointing taking that man-by swine keeping-for was-sent. That
 baktān vēn ḍukar khānyā-chō jinnas-jōku dēkhun milal nahī,
time-at him-to swine eaten husks even was-got not.

ŌDKI.

The Ōds are a wandering tribe who are found all over India. In Kathiawar they are pond diggers; in the Panjab they take small contracts on roads, canals, railways, and the like, and also build houses and dig tanks or wells. In Mathura they weave coarse cloth. In the South they cut out stones from the earth, convey them on their carts to where they are wanted, dig tanks and wells and so on. The number of Ōds returned at the Census of 1911 was 610,162 distributed as follows:—

Madras	550,109
Panjab	32,246
United Provinces	9,071
Rajputana Agency	7,839
Elsewhere	10,897
TOTAL	<u>610,162</u>

The root meaning of the word *ōḍ* is uncertain. In the South it takes the form *ōḍḍa*, and the Rev. F. Kittel compares Telugu *ōḍḍe*, drudgery, *ōḍḍevāṇḍlu*, tank diggers. As most Ōds belong to the South, it is very probable that the word is originally Dravidian, and connected with the name of the Vadaras.

The majority of the Ōds, or about 600,000, are found in South India and are stated to speak a patois of Telugu. We have not sufficient information about the dialect of the remaining Ōds. As a separate form of speech it has only been returned from Muzaffargarh in the Panjab, and from Cutch, Panch Mahals, Hyderabad and Thar and Parkar in the Bombay Presidency. The estimated number of speakers according to information collected for the purposes of this Survey was:—

Panjab	514
Muzaffargarh	514
Bombay Presidency	2,300
Cutch	250
Panch Mahals	50
Hyderabad	1,500
Thar and Parkar	500
TOTAL	<u>2,814</u>

Specimens of Ōdkī have, however, also been forwarded from the Dhandhuka town in Ahmedabad District (in Bombay), and a list of words hailing from Shikarpur (in the Panjab), which will not be reproduced below, shows that the Ōds of that district speak the same language as their namesakes farther south. If we except the Dravidian South it is therefore probable that Mr. Baines was right in stating¹ that 'the earth-workers called Ōḍ or Waddar carry a language of their own from Peshawar to the sea, using a vocabulary less and less Dravidian as the tribe frequents tracts farther away from the East Decan, from whence it probably originated.' The Ōds were probably from the

¹ Census of India, 1891. General Report. London, 1893, p. 137.

beginning Dravidians and spoke a form of Telugu. Later on, we are not able to say when, a comparatively numerous section seems to have spent a considerable time in a locality where the prevailing languages were Marāṭhī, Gujarātī and Rājasthānī. It is of interest to note that the Ōḍs of Northern India are only found in the west, from the United Provinces to Sind. So far as we know their language everywhere contains a strong Marāṭhī element, and it seems likely that their North Indian home must have been in North-Western Dekhan. According to the returns at the Census of 1901,¹ their distribution in the Bombay Presidency was as follows :—

Ahmedabad	1,266
Broach	715
Kaira	805
Panch Mahals	461
Surat	53
Cambay	200
Cutch	188
Kathiawar	959
Mahikantha	106
Palanpur	491
Rewa Kantha	385
Karachi	201
Hyderabad	1,549
Shikarpur	1,338
Thar and Parkar	1,449
Upper Sind Frontier	127
Khairpur	278
TOTAL	<u>10,571</u>

It will be seen that the Ōḍs were practically restricted to districts where Gujarātī and Sindhī are the prevailing languages. The existence of a strong Marāṭhī element in Ōḍkī can only be explained under the supposition that these Ōḍs have come from some place farther east, say in the hills bordering the Marāṭhī area. Such a localisation would also agree with the fact that the Ōḍs of Southern India speak Telugu.

The specimens of Ōḍkī printed below, and the Standard List of Words and Sentences on pp. 178ff. will give a good idea of the nature of the dialect. It will be seen that it is a mixed form of speech containing elements taken from different sources. As in the case of the Gipsy language of Europe these elements are important as showing the route by which the tribe must have wandered. They are, however, to a great extent so perspicuous that it is unnecessary to enter upon a detailed discussion. It will be sufficient to draw attention to some of the most important features. The Marāṭhī element is particularly strong. Thus the neuter of strong bases ends in *ē* or *ē̃* as in Marāṭhī; compare *talē*, tank; *kēlē*, it was said. Strong masculine bases end in *ā*, plural *ē*; thus, *ghōrā*, horse; *ghōrē*, horses. Note also the oblique bases in *ā* of weak and *ē* of strong masculine bases, and in *ī* of feminine bases; thus, *dēsā-mā*, in a country; *lerkē-chē*, of a man; *malkatī-chā*, of the property. The termination *chā*, *chī*, *chē* of the genitive is important. The same is the case with the termination *lā* of the past tense of verbs; thus, *gēlā*, went; *mārlā*, struck. Compare further the imperative plural in *ā*; thus, *āvā*, come; the infinitives in *ū* and *ṇē*; thus, *kēhū*, to say; *mārṇē*, to strike, and so forth. Such forms are found in all the specimens,

¹ No similar return is available for 1911.

and they gain in importance when we remember that they all hail from districts where Marāṭhī is not a home tongue of the population.

Several of the usual terminations in Ōḍkī do not agree with Marāṭhī but with Gujarāṭī and Rājasthānī. Such are the suffixes *ē* of the agent and *nē* of the dative, both of which are also found in Mālvi; the ablative in *tī*; the locative in *mā*; forms such as *hē*, I (compare Gujarāṭī, Mālvi and Mārwarī *hū*); *chhē*, *sē* and *hē*, is; the conjunctive participle is *tinē* (Gujarāṭī *inē*) and so forth. The Gujarāṭī element is strongest in Gujarāṭī districts such as the Panch Mahals and Ahmedabad, but is also apparent in other districts.

Features borrowed from languages other than Marāṭhī and Gujarāṭī have more of a local character. The locative termination *māy*, which is prevalent in Mārwarī is, however, common in the Ahmedabad District, where Gujarāṭī is the chief language. Of such local borrowings I may mention the common cerebralisation of a *ḍ* in Cutch and in the districts of Hyderabad, Thar and Parkar, Shikarpur and Muzaffargarh; the Pañjābī dative termination *nū* in the same districts with the exception of Cutch, and other sporadic instances of borrowings from the local dialects. They will be easily ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable from the Panch Mahals. It represents a dialect which can be characterized as Gujarāṭī with a Marāṭhī substructure.

[No. 10.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ÖPKİ.

DISTRICT PANCH MAHALS.

Ēk guchī-nē dōn chhōydē salē. Nē dhāydē chhōydē bāp-nē
One man-to two sons were. And the-younger-by son-by father-to
 kēlē kē, 'bāpē, puñjiyā bhāg amō-nē dē.' Nē ōnē
it-was-said that, 'father, property-of share me-to give.' And by-him
 puñji wahēchtī dēli. Nē thōdēk dan pachhi dhāydā
property having-divided was-given. And few days after the-younger
 chhōydā badhē gētīnē dūr dēhā-mā gēlā nē paḍē
son all having-collected a-far country-into went and there
 raṅg-bhōg kartīnē pōtāchi puñji uḍadtī dēli.
pleasure-and-enjoyment having-made his-own property having-wasted was-given.
 Nē ōnē badhē kharachtī nākhlē tyār-pachhi ō dēhā-mē
And by-him all having-expended was-thrown then-after that country-in
 mōṭē dukāl paḍlā nē ōnē baḍi taṅksāl paḍwā lāgli. Nē ō
great famine fell and him-to great want to-fall began. And he
 jātinē ō dēhā-chē wartani-mā-chē ēkā-chē paḍē rēhlā.
having-gone that country-of inhabitants-in-of one-of near remained.
 Nē ōnē pōtā-chē khētrā-mē bhunḍōnē chārlē-sāru ōnē mōkallā. Nē
And by-him his-own fields-in swine grazing-for him was-sent. And
 jō sīngā bhunḍā khātīgē ō-mā-thi pōtā-chē pēṭ bharlē-sāru ōnī
which husks swine were-eating that-in-from his-own belly filling-for his
 ichchhā salī. Nē kēnī ōnē dēlē nahī. Nē ō sāvchit
wish was. And by-anyone him-to was-given not. And he in-sense
 halā tyārē ōnē kēlē kē, 'māchē bā-chē katnē majurō-nē
became then by-him it-was-said that, 'my father-of how-many servants-to
 pushkal baḍā chhē ; paṇ hē-tō bhakhē marē-chhē ; hē-tō uṭhtīnē
plenty bread is ; but I-indeed hunger-by dying-am ; I having-arisen
 māchē bā-chē paḍē jāi, nē ōnē kahī kē, " hē bā,
my father-of near will-go, and him-to will-say that, " O father,
 mē akāsā-mē nē tadhi āgaḷ pāp karlē chhē ; nē hē-mē tam-chā
by-me heaven-in and of-thee before sin done is ; and this-in your
 chhōydā kēlē lāg hē nī-thā ; ma-nē tum-chē majurō-mā-chē ēkā-chē
son to-be-called fit I not-am ; me your servants-in-of one-of
 jāsa gaṇ." ' Nē ō uṭhtīnē pōtā-chē bā-chē paḍē gēlā. Nē ō
like count." ' And he having-arisen his-own father-of near went. And he

tū ghaṇē dūr salā tyārē ō-chē bā-ē ōnē dēkhlā nē ō-nē
yet very far was then his father-by him-to was-seen and him-to
 diyā āli. Nē ō dōḍtīnē ō-chī kōṭi walaḡtī paḍlā, nē
compassion came. And he having-run his on-neck clinging fell, and
 ō-nē bachī karlī. Nē chhōyḍē-nē ō-nē kēlē kē, 'bā,
him-to kiss was-done. And the-son-by him-to it-was-said that, 'father,
 mē akāśā-mē nē tadhi āgaḷ pāp karlē chhē; nē hē-mē tam-chā
by-me heaven-in and of-thee before sin done is; and this-in your
 chhōyḍā kēlē lāḡ hē nī-thā.' Paṇ bā-ē pōtā-chē
son to-be-called fit I not-am.' But the-father-by his-own
 dāsā-nē kēlē kē, 'awaḷ ōyṇā gēti āwā nē
servants-to it-was-said that, 'good clothes having-taken come and
 ō-nē andhāwā, nē ō-chē hāthē vīṭi ghālā, nē pagā-mē
him-to put-on, and his on-hand a-ring put, and feet-on
 jōḍē andhāwā. Nē āpu khātinē anand karjē;
shoes put. And we having-eaten merriment may-make;
 kāy-kē, ā mā-chā chhōyḍā martī gēlā, nē sō phartī jīvā
because, this my son having-died went, and he again alive
 halā chhē; nē gamāti gēlālā, nē ō jaḍlā chhē.' Nē ō
become is; and lost had-gone, and he found is.' And they
 anand karu lāḡlē.
merriment to-do began.

Anē ō-chā mōṭāch chhōyḍā khētrā-mē salā. Nē ō waḷtā
And his elder son fields-in was. And he returning
 gharā-chī pāhē pahōchlā tyārē ō-nē nāch nē raṅg hāmbharlā.
house-of near reached then him-by dancing and music was-heard.
 Nē ō-nē chākrā-mē-thī ēkī-nē balāwatīnē puchhlē kē, 'kāy
And him-by servants-in-from one-to having-called it-was-asked that, 'what
 hōya chhē?' Nē ō-nē chākrā-nē kēlē kē, 'tadhā
becoming is?' And him-to the-servant-by it-was-said that, 'thy
 bhāu ālā chhē. Nē tadhē bā-ē ēk baḍi jāfat karlī chhē,
brother come is. And thy father-by one grand feast made is,
 kāy-kē ō ōnē khēm-kuśal-thī puṭhā mallā chhlē.' Paṇ ō-nē
because he him-to in-good-condition back joined is.' But him-to
 ris chaḍli nē māhi ālē-chī ō-chī khuṣi nā salī. Mātē
anger rose and inside going-of his willingness not was. Therefore
 ō-chē bā-ē bahār āwtīnē ō-nē samjāwlā. Paṇ ō-nē
his father-by out having-come him remonstrated-with. But him-by
 jāwāb dētā bāp-nē kēlē kē, 'dēkh atnē waras hē
reply while-giving father-to it-was-said that, 'see so-many years I

tadhī	chākri	karē	chhē,	nē	tadhī	āgnā	mē	kadi
thy	service	doing	am,	and	thy	commandment	by-me	ever
ōlaṅgli	na-thī,	tō-pan	mā-chē	mitrawā-sāthē	khuṣi	karlē		
transgressed	not-was,	still	my	friends-with	pleasure	making		
wāstē	tē	ma-nē	bākrē	pan	kadi	dēlē	nī-thē.	Paṇ
for	by-thee	me-to	a-kid	even	ever	given	not-was.	But
ā	tadhā	chhōyḍā	ōṇi	tadhī	puñji	kasabēṇō-che	hāthi	
this	thy	son	by-him	thy	property	harlots-of	with	
gamāti	nākhli	ōnā	āwtā	tē	ō-chī-sāru	awaḷ		
squandering	was-thrown-away	he	coming	by-thee	him-for	good		
gyāfat	karli.'	Nē	ōṇi	kēlē	kē,	' chhōyḍā,		
a-feast	was-done.'	And	by-him	it-was-said	that,	' son,		
tū	māchī-sāthē	nity	chhē ;	nē	māchē	saghlē	tadhē	
thou	me-of-with.	always	art ;	and	my	all	thine	
chhē.	Āplē-tō	khuṣ	aṇē	nālje	tathā	harakh		
is.	Our-indeed	pleased	to-become	is-proper	and	merriment		
karnā	nālje.	Kāy-kē	ā	tadhā	bhāu	marti		
to-make	is-proper.	Because	this	thy	brother	having-died		
gēlālā,	nē	pharati	jīwtā	halā	chhē ;	nē	gamāti	
was-gone,	and	again	alive	become	is ;	and	lost	
gēlālā,	nē	ō	jadlā	chhē.'				
was-gone,	and	he	found	is.'				

The next specimen is a popular tale about Jāsmā who, according to the Rās Mālā,¹ came from Malwa with a number of Ōḍs in order to dig the Sahasraling Lake at Patan for Siddh Rāj. The Rājā fell in love with her, but she declined his offer. When he pursued her, she committed suicide and cursed him. She is still worshipped by the Ōḍs.

The specimen is of the same kind as the preceding one.

¹ Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, I. 111ff.

[No. II.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ÖPKİ.

DISTRICT AHMEDABAD.

Sadrāō Jēsaṅgē Jāhmā-nē asē kēlē kē, 'ēk danā-māy talē
Siddhrāō Jaisiṅgh-by Jāsmā-to so it-was-said that, 'one day-in tank
 khaṭtinē pāṇiyā-thī rāt-kī-rātī-māy talē bhar-dē.' Jāhmāē asē kēlē
having-dug water-with one-night-in tank fill-give.' Jāsmā-by so it-was-said
 kē, 'tījē dan bhar dañ.' Pachhē Jāhmā Kūwārki pāhān
that, 'on-third day fill will-give.' Afterwards Jāsmā Virgin near
 gēli, hāth jōḍtinē kargarli kē, 'bāi, hāy atnī kastī tū
went, hands having-joined besought that, 'lady, this so-great misery thou
 ma-nē khōwād.' Kūwārkiē kēlē kē, 'hī āvī, paṇ
me cause-to-loose.' Virgin-by it-was-said that, 'I shall-come, but
 puṭhē waṭtinē dēkhiō nahī.' Kūwārkiē dan ugtā talē
backwards having-turned please-look not.' Virgin-by day opening tank
 bhar dēlē. Pachhē Sadrāō Jāhmā pāhān ālā nē Jāhmā
filling was-given. Afterwards Siddhrāō Jāsmā near came and to-Jāsmā
 bhēgā halā. Jāhmāē anū kēlē kē, 'tū tadhā mēp-sar
joined became. Jāsmā-by thus it-was-said that, 'thou thy measure-following
 puṭhā wal.' Sadrāwē asē kēlē kē, 'hī tadhā kēdā mēlnār
back turn.' Siddhrāō-by thus it-was-said that, 'I thy way leaver
 nitā.' Tārē bāiē dhartī mātā-nē asē kēlē kē, 'hē
not-am.' Then the-woman-by Earth Mother-to thus it-was-said that, 'O
 mā, hī satī hōy, tō tū bhēgi maḷ jā.' Dhartī bhēgi
mother, I chaste am, then thou together joined go.' Earth together
 halī. Tō Sadrāō rād khēchū mādla. Pachhē Sadrāō bōllā
became. Then Siddhrāō cry to-raise began. Afterwards Siddhrāō said
 kē, 'tū māchhi bān chhē.' Jāhmā bōlli kē, 'tadhā ganā māf
that, 'thou my sister is.' Jāsmā said that, 'thy sin forgiven
 chhē; paṇ tadhā wāsvēlā nai rē.' Pachhē Jāhmā
is; but thy offspring not remains.' Afterwards Jāsmā
 Khalīkhōlwādē āwtinē badhē ṓḍā-nē maḷli. Pachhē ṓ
to-Khalīkhōlwād having-come all ṓḍs-to was-joined. Afterwards that
 bāi huraj-nē hāth jōḍtinē asē bōlli kē, 'mē tō māchē
woman sum-to hands having-joined so said that, 'by-me for-my-part mine
 parvēdlē, paṇ māchī ṭachli āgaḷiē jētnē rūp kōi ṓḍā-chī dhūvē-nē
is-done-with, but my last on-finger as-much beauty any ṓḍ-of girl-to
 nā diō.
not give.'

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Siddhrāj Jaisingh said to Jāsmā, 'dig a tank in one day and fill it with water during the night.' She said that she would be able to do so on the third day. Then Jāsmā went to the Virgin River¹ and besought her with folded hands to free her from this great distress. The Virgin said, 'I shall come, but you must not look behind.' At daybreak the Virgin filled the tank. Then Siddhrāo came to Jāsmā and joined her. Jāsmā asked him to turn back, in accordance with his position, but Siddhrāo said that he would not desist from pursuing her. Then the woman said to Mother Earth, 'O mother, if I am a chaste woman, let me be united with you.' Then the Earth came close to her. Siddhrāo raised a cry and said, 'thou art my sister.' Jāsmā said, 'thy sin is forgiven, but thy progeny shall not remain.' Then Jāsmā went to Khalikholwad² and joined the Ōḍs. Afterwards she joined her hands and said to the Sun, 'I have done with life, but do not grant to any Ōḍ girl as much beauty as there is on my last finger.'

According to specimens forwarded from the Cutch State the Ōḍs there use a form of speech of the same kind as that illustrated in the preceding pages. We may only note the frequent cerebralisation of a dental *d*; thus, *dēwā*, give; *dādī*, grandmother; *ḍī*, day.

¹ A name of the river Sarasvatī, which is so called because its water is lost in the desert and does not join the Ocean.

² A village near Modhera, where Jāsmā's shrine is still worshipped by the Ōḍs.

[No. 12.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ŌDKI.

CUTCH STATE.

‘Āwā, bēsā, Rām-Rām. Tamē kathē-thī ōwā sawā?’

‘Come, sit, Rām-Rām. You where-from come are?’

‘Hē Chaprēī-tī āvē sē.’

‘I Chaprēī-from coming am.’

‘Warsāti-mē tamī ghaṇē hērān halē sawā. Tamā sārū

‘Rain-in you much troubled become are. You for

sigrī karū? Thōrī wār tāphā tō tamō-nē

fire shall-I-make? Little time you-will-warm-yourselfes then you-to

sukh havi. Tamā sārū kāi rasōi karāvē?’

comfort will-be. You for what meal may-I-cause-to-be-made?’

‘Mācchē ī tṇē kāi khāwō naitē.’

‘Me-of this time anything to-eat not-is(-wanted).’

‘Sāw kāi khālē vīgar chālē? Thōrē ghaṇē jū

‘Entirely anything eaten without can-it-do? Little much what

bhāvē sū khāwā.’

may-please that eat.’

‘I-mā tō ma-nē tras lāgli sē. Pāñ pīwū

‘This-in indeed me-to thirst joined is. Water to-drink

dēwā.’

give.’

‘Tam-chē lūgrē thōrik wār tirkē sūkwū mēlē?’

‘Your clothes a-little time in-the-sun to-dry may-I-put?’

‘Bhalē, mēlā.’

‘Well, put.’

‘Tamā sārū kāi rasōi karāvē?’

‘You for what meal may-I-cause-to-be-made?’

‘Mē tamā-nē kēlē sē kē bhūkh nāi lāgli.’

‘By-me you-to said is that hunger not is-got.’

‘Thōrik khichrī nē bār khātī ghēwā.’

‘Little khichrī and bread eating take.’

‘Tam-chī marji sē ta bhalē, karāwā.’

‘You-of wish is then well, let-it-be-prepared.’

‘Tam-chē gharē badhē-y rāji-khusī sī?’

‘Your in-house all happy-glad are?’

'Badhẽ-y thĩk sī, paṇ māchī dādī parinā
'All well are, but my grandmother the-day-before-yesterday
 martī gēli.
dying went.'

'Tē-nē kãī halēlē ?'

'Her-to what had-happened ?'

'Chār dī tāw ālā.'

'Four days fever came.'

'Tam-chē khētrā-mā mōl kisēk halē sī ?'

'Your field-in crops how become are ?'

'Ōṇ warsād jhājhā halā naitā, tē-thi jhājhē halē naitē.
'This-year rain much became not, that-from much became not.'

'Tā dhagā-chē kitrē nāṇē dīlē ?'

'These bullocks-of how-much money was-given ?'

'Ma-nē sārē chār sō kōriā bēslīā.'

'Me-to with-a-half four hundred kōris were-expended.'

'Tē dhagē tamī vēchā ?'

'These bullocks you will-sell ?'

'Pūrē nāṇē dēwā tō vēchīnē.'

'Enough money will-give then I-shall-sell.'

'Tamā-nē hē tin sō kōriā dīlē.'

'You-to I three hundred kōris may-give.'

'Tin sō kōriā-mā kãī vēchāy ?'

'Three hundred kōris-in what can-they-be-sold ?'

'Hē jāṇē sē kē dhagē mōṭē sī.

'I knowing am that bullocks old are. Sū itri kimat
That so-much price

ghaṇī sē.'

much is.'

'Tam-chī dhūi-chā vīwā kiē mainē-mē karā ?'

'Your daughter-of marriage which month-in will-you-do ?'

'Māchī dādī-chi warsi warti raigē tē wāsē
'My grandmother's anniversary over will-be that after

karī ?'

I-shall-do ?'

'Āj-chī rāt am-chē gharē nujti rēwā.'

'Today-of night our in-house sleeping remain.'

'Nā, māchē sāji Dhrāṅ pōchnē sē.'

'No, mine to-night Dharang coming is.'

'Pachhē-wari kē dī am-chē gharē āwjā.'

'Again some day our to-house come.'

- ‘Khāsē, Rām-Rām, i-mā hē jāi.’
 ‘Well, Rām-Rām, now I will-go.’
 ‘Tam-chē gharē badhā-nē Rām-Rām kējā.’
 ‘Your in-house all-to Rām-Rām say.’

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

- ‘Come and take a seat. Welcome. Whence are you coming?’
 ‘I am coming from Chapreri.’
 ‘You must have been much troubled by the rain. Shall I make a fire for you? If you will warm yourself for a time, you will feel comfortable. What food may I order for you?’
 ‘I do not now want any food.’
 ‘It won’t do that you should not take any food. Take only as much as you like.’
 ‘Just now I am thirsty. Give me water to drink.’
 ‘Shall I put your clothes a little while in the sun to dry?’
 ‘Yes, if you please.’
 ‘What food shall I order to be prepared for you?’
 ‘I have told you that I am not hungry.’
 ‘Just take a little *khichrī* and bread.’
 ‘If that be your wish, get it prepared.’
 ‘Are all well in your house?’
 ‘All are well, only my grandmother died the day before yesterday.’
 ‘What was the matter with her?’
 ‘She had fever for four days.’
 ‘How are the crops in your field?’
 ‘There was not much rain this year, and so I have not got much.’
 ‘What did you pay for these bullocks?’
 ‘I paid four hundred and fifty *kōrīs*.’
 ‘Will you sell these bullocks?’
 ‘I will if you give a good price.’
 ‘I will pay three hundred *kōrīs*.’
 ‘How can they be sold for three hundred *kōrīs*?’
 ‘I think the bullocks are old, and so it is a good price.’
 ‘In what month are you going to have your daughter married?’
 ‘I shall do so after the ceremony of the first anniversary of my grandmother’s death is over.’
 ‘Rest in our house to-night.’
 ‘No, I have to reach Dharang by sunset.’
 ‘Come to our house some other day.’
 ‘Very well. Adieu. I am off now.’
 ‘Give my compliments to all in your house.’

The dialect of the Ôḍs of Hyderabad and of Thar and Parkar is said to be identical. The same is the case in Shikarpur, and it will be sufficient to print a short specimen, the deposition of a villager in a case of assault, as illustrating the speech of the Ôḍs of all three districts. It will be seen that the influence of Sindhī, the prevailing language of the districts, is easily recognisable. Compare *rāti-jō*, of the night; *ghōr-karanu*, house-doing, hawking; *māñjō*, my, and so on. The Pañjābī termination of the dative *nũ* has already been mentioned; compare *khurī-nũ*, to the heel. An unpublished Standard List of Words and Sentences contains forms of an *h* future, viz. *mārḥē*, I shall, thou wilt, he will, beat; plur. 1. *mārḥũ*, 2. *mārḥā*, 3. *mārḥē*. Similarly we find *tāphā*, you will warm yourself, in the specimen from the Cutch State printed above. These forms seem to be comparable with the Mārwarī future. In this connexion I may also note the Rājasthānī negative particle *kōnī*, not (lit. *kō-nī*, not at all); compare *kāhi ūē-nā kō-ḍinā-nī*, anybody him-to not gave; *kō-ḍelā-nī*, didst not give.

[No. 13.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ŌPKĪ.

DISTRICT HYDERABAD.

Mai sākhe pari kahē. Mājō nā chhē Hashū. Mājē bā-jā
I oath on state. My name is Hashū. My father-of
 nā Thadā. Mai Hindū-dharam chhē, luhānā chhē. Mājā pōrihiā
name Thadā. I Hindū am, lohānā am. My profession
 ghōr-karaṇu chhē. Mājī umuri chālisi baras chhē. Mai Haidrābādi
hawking is. My age forty years is. I Hyderabad
 gāū Haidrābādi taulkē Haidrābādi jillē bihilē. Mājā firyādu
town Hyderabad in-ta'lūqa Hyderabad in-district live. My complaint
 chhē Wasanmalā-par. Subhānē hēkē bajē rāti-jō
is Wasanmal-on. Yesterday one when-struck night-of
 tikānē-mā jāelā. Gharē bātē ūpari dōdi-haṭu chhilē.
abode(-of-a-faqīr)-in went. Home way on curds-seller-shop was.
 Ū-kaddhū dūdhu ghelē. Ūthē jawābudār ālā; ālē siri māji
That-from curds were-taken. There accused came; come on my
 sāji khurī-nū ṭhudā mārīlā. Māi u-nū kahilē, 'kē-nū
right heel-to stumbling was-struck. By-me him-to it-was-said, 'why
 ādhā hulā-hē?' Jakā-māthē ma-nū lugāi āi dhū-pari galī
blind become-art?' This-after me-to wife and daughter-on abuses
 dīhiliā, thāshā olār-tē larnē-kū ālā. Māi darlā, nastī-patā
were-given, blow having-threatened fight-to came. I feared, far-off
 hulā. Hōtū Nārū Rījhū vichhū achhi-parlē. Tadhī jawābdāra
became. Hōtū Nārū Rījhā between came. Then accused-by
 basi-karī; na-ta ma-nū mārē-hā. Jawābdārā-sū āgē
stop-was-made; otherwise me would-have-struck. Accused-with formerly
 māji dushmanī kōnī.
my enmity not.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

I make the following statement upon my oath. My name is Hashū and my father's name is Thadā. I am a Hindū by religion, and I am a Lohānā. My profession is hawking. My age is forty years. I am a resident of Hyderabad town, Haiderabad *ta'lūqa*, Hyderabad District. My complaint is against Wasanmal. Last night at one o'clock I went to the abode of a faqīr. On my way home I passed a curds-seller's shop, and there I bought some curds. There the accused came and stumbled against my right heel. 'Why,' said I, 'are you blind?' Then he began to pour out abuse against my wife and daughter, and after threatening to beat me he prepared to fight. I became afraid and stood far off. Hōtū, Nārū and Rījhū intervened, and then the accused desisted. Else he would have struck me. I never before had any enmity with accused

Specimens of Ōḍkī have also been received from Muzaffargarh, and a short popular tale from that district is printed below. It will be seen that in the main it agrees with the Ōḍkī illustrated in the preceding pages. The cerebralisation of *d* in *ḍō*, two, etc., and forms such as *mahā-kan*, from me, point in the direction of Sindhī. There are also some Pañjābī reminiscences such as *raṇḍē-nū*, to the wife; *bā-dā*, of a father. On the whole, however, the Ōḍkī of Muzaffargarh is of the same kind as in the Gujarātī districts,—a mixture of Marāṭhī and Gujarātī-Rājasthānī. The form *huttā*, was, which does not occur in other specimens, is comparable to Marāṭhī *hōtā*.

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

OPKI.

DISTRICT MUZAFFARGARH.

Hēk bādshāh huttā. Ō-chē gharē ōlād kāk na huttī. Ō
One King was. His in-house offspring any not was. He
 apnī bādshāhī chhōr-litī ō hēk rōz mārḡā ūpar nītī bēlā. Fakīr
own kingdom having-left he one day way on going sat. Fakīr
 jur-ti-kē dhūā ghāl-ti bēlā. Hēk rōz jhūṇḍ fakīrā-chā ālā.
having-turned smoke making sat. One day group fakirs-of came.
 Ō-nē kehlē, 'tū ēthē mārḡā-par kahā bēlā?' Bādshāh
That-by it-was-said, 'thou this way-on why sittest?' By-the-King
 kehlē, 'tamī mahā-kan kahī na pūchha.' Fakīrē
it-was-said, 'you me-from anything not ask.' The-fakirs-by
 kehlē, 'amī pūchhū.' Bādshāh kehlē jō, 'māchē gharē
it-was-said, 'we ask.' By-the-King it-was-said that, 'my in-house
 ōlād kāk nahī?' Fakīrē kehlē, 'dō tapāsē chhit.
offspring any not-is?' The-fakirs-by it-was-said, 'two sweets break.
 Hēk āp khā, hēk apnē raṇḍē-nū khullā. Vi-nū hēk pūt paidā
One self eat, one own wife-to cause-to-eat. Her-to one son borne
 hōwē; mātthē-par chād hōwē, chichī-par tārā hōwē.
will-be; forehead-on moon will-be, little-fingers-on star will-be.'
 Bādshāh-chē gharē pūt jālā. Ō-chē gharē dō raṇḍā hut-yā;
King-of in-house son was-borne. His in-house two wives were;
 jissē mōṭī huttī, vi-chē gharē pūt jamū-palā. Jissī dhārī raṇḍ
which elder was, her in-house son birth-got. Which younger wife
 huttī, vi-nē biṭhārī-nū kehlē, 'ē bār gūṭī dē.'
was, her-by midwife-to it-was-said, 'this child killing give.'
 Biṭhārī chhāj kōlā-chē bhartī-kē vi-chē gōdhū mēhiltī gēlī. Bār
Midwife basket coal-of having-filled her-of near having-put went. Child
 chattī-kē rūṛī-par nāk-tī ālī. Bādshāh-nū
having-carried manure-heap-on having-thrown returned. King-to
 kehlē, 'tudhyā raṇḍē kōlē jālē.' Kuttī bhilī
it-was-said, 'thy wife-by coals were-brought-forth.' Bitch standing
 bādshāh-chī huttī; bārā-nū chattī challī apnē bhāwarē-mē
king-of was; child having-carried went own pit-in
 nittī nāklē. Hēk dō sāl guzrē. Ū bār rū lāglē.
going was-thrown. One two years passed. That child to-cry began.

Bādshāhzādī-nũ pattā lāglā. 'E bārā-nũ marātī nākhā.' Kuttī
 Queen-to news was-got. 'This child killing throw.' Bitch
 bhilli sunlē. Bār-kũ chattī-kē khūnī ghōrē-cnē āgũ āntī
 standing heard. Child having-carried bloody horse-of before bringing
 nāklē. Ō jawān huttā. Bādshāh-nũ pattā lāglā. Ō
 was-thrown. He youth became. King-to news was-got. He
 gharē gēti gallā, ghanē khushī karlē, waḍā dān-pun
 in-house taking was-put, much rejoicing was-made, great alms
 karlā.
 were-made.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

There was once a King. He had no offspring in his house. One day he left his kingdom and sat down at the roadside as a *faqīr* near a smouldering fire. One day a group of *faqīrs* came along and asked him why he was sitting there on the road. The King replied, 'do not ask me any question.' The *faqīrs* said they would ask. The King said that he had no offspring in his house. The *faqīrs* said, 'take two *tapāsās*. Eat one yourself and get your wife to eat the other. She will bring forth a son, with a moon on his forehead and a star on his little finger.' Subsequently a son was born in the palace. The King had two wives, and the son was born in the eldest wife's house. The second wife told the midwife to kill the child. The midwife brought a basket full of coal and put it near her. She then took the child and put it on a heap of manure. The King was told that his wife had given birth to coal. The King's bitch was standing there. She carried the child off and put it in her own pit. After the lapse of one or two years the younger queen was informed that the child had been heard to cry, and she again ordered it to be killed. The bitch heard this, took the child and entrusted it to a bloody horse. The child grew up and the King learnt about him. He brought him home, made great rejoicings and gave much alms.

LĀDĪ.

The Lāds are a Gipsy tribe, who sell betel-leaf, areca-nuts, tobacco, *bhañg*, etc. The number of Lāds returned at the last Census of 1911 was as follows :—

Bombay	11,781
Central Provinces and Berar	5,383
Baroda State	8,500
Hyderabad State	8,776
Elsewhere	1,132
TOTAL	<u>35,572</u>

It does not seem as if the Lāds generally have got a dialect of their own. During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Lāḍī was reported to be spoken by 500 individuals in the Ellichpur District of Berar. A version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son has been forwarded as an illustration of this form of speech. The beginning of it, which follows, shows that the Lāḍī of Ellichpur is Eastern Rājasthānī, in most respects agreeing with Jaipuri.

[No. 15.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

LĀḌĪ.

DISTRICT ELLICHPUR.

Kōni ēk mānus-ka dui pōrgā hōtā. U-kī mandhun lahān pōrgō
Some one man-to two sons were. Them-of midst-from small son
 āplē bāp-kha kahyō, 'bāpā, jindgi-kō jō mārō wātō āwśī, wō
own father-to said, 'father, property-of which my share will-come, that
 dē.' Mag unē un-kha paisō hissō karī tākyō. Mag
give.' Then by-him them-to money share having-made was-thrown. Then
 thōḍē diwas-na lahān pōrgō saglō paisō jamā karī dūr dēs-ka
few days-in small son all money together having-made far country-to
 gayō; ānī āplē dhatpanā-na rahisan saglō paisō kharāb karī tākyō.
went; and own impudence-in living all money spoilt doing was-wasted.
 Mag saglō paisō kharch karyā-war unē mulukh-mē kāl padyō. Unē
Then all money spent made-after that country-in famine fell. That
 mulē u-kha phār adchan padī. Mag wō unē mulukh-mē ēk mānus-pās
for him-to much difficulty fell. Then he that country-in one man-near
 rahan-kō gayō; un u-kha dukar charāwan-kha wāwar-mē paṭhāyō. Mag
living-for went; by-him him swine feeding-for field-in was-sent. Then
 dukar jē phōtar khātō hōtō, u-kē-war u-kō pōṭ bharan-kha u-kha
swine which husks eating was, that-on his belly filling-for him-to
 wātyō, mag u-kha kōnī kāhī diyō nahī. Mag hōs-mē
it-appeared, then him-to by-anybody anything was-given not. Then sense-in
 āyisan kahyō, 'mārē bāp-kha kiti naukar-kha pōṭ bharisan
having-come said, 'my father-to how-many servants-to belly having-filled
 rōṭī bhēṭa-chhē, ānī mī upāśī marū-chhē.'
bread being-got-is, and I hungering dying-am.'

SĀSĪ.

The Sāsīs are one of the best known criminal tribes. They commonly use the word *bhattū* (in the Panjab) or *bhātū* (Saharanpur) to denote themselves. I cannot suggest any etymology of this name, which is also used by other Gipsy tribes such as the Kōlhātīs. The common denomination Sāsī is replaced by the longer form Sāsiyā in the United Provinces. It has been variously derived from Sanskrit *śvāsa*, breathing, or from the base *sram̐s*, to fall, to get loose. The former explanation does not give much sense, the latter would perhaps convey the meaning of a fallen, degraded caste, and etymologically *sāsī* might well be derived from an old participle *sram̐sita*. Others derive the word from *śvaga-nika*, accompanied by a pack of hounds, hunter, or from *śvapāka*, who cooks dogs, out-caste, but these derivations are not possible phonetically. If we consider the fact that the Sāsīs often act as bards, it would also be possible to derive their name from a Sanskrit *śāmsika* = *śamsin*, reciting.

Sāsīs are most numerous in the Panjab, especially in the districts of Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwala, Sialkot and Gujrat. The total number returned at the last Census of 1911 was 32,481, distributed as follows :—

Panjab	26,990
Delhi Division	3,357
Jullundur Division	1,893
Lahore Division	14,574
Rawalpindi Division	2,090
Multan Division	1,993
Native States	3,083
Other Provinces	5,491
TOTAL	<u>32,481</u>

It is probable that many of these Sāsīs speak the language of their neighbours. Our information about the number of those who speak a separate dialect is very defective. This is partly due to the fact that there are in reality two different things which can be called the Sāsī dialect. In the first place we have a distinct vernacular, specimens of which have only been forwarded from the Panjab. In the second place there is a criminal argot characterised by certain methods of disguising ordinary words so as to make them unintelligible to the uninitiated. Such methods can be applied to words taken from any dialect. Moreover, the returns from the Census of 1911 do not distinguish between the different Gipsy dialects. They seem, however, to show that many Sāsīs have been returned as speaking other dialects. Thus the total number returned for Gipsy languages from the Panjab was only 5,640. The information collected for the purposes of this Survey, on the other hand, must in this case be used with considerable caution. It gives the

number of speakers in Ferozepur as 45,000, but only 360 Sāsīs were enumerated in the district at the Census of 1911. The details of this information are as follows:—

Panjab	48,170
Ferozepur	45,000
Gurdaspur	2,000
Gujrat	1,170
United Provinces	3,380
Saharanpur	3,000
Kheri	380
TOTAL	<u>51,550</u>

It will be seen that this total is considerably more than the number of Sāsīs enumerated in the whole of India in 1911.

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The Sāsīs are to a great extent migratory, and their dialect differs according to locality. Thus the Sāsīs of the United Provinces apparently speak Hindōstānī, while the dialect of their cousins in the Northern Panjab is closely related to Pañjābī. A consequence of their migratory habits is also the use of forms and suffixes belonging to different vernaculars by the same Sāsīs. Thus in the dialect spoken in the Northern Panjab we find the genitive formed by adding a suffix *gā*¹ or *kā* as in Hindōstānī, while the suffix of the ablative is *thō*, which reminds us of Gujarātī. Dr. Grahame Bailey has shown that there are numerous cases of correspondence now with one, now with another Aryan dialect in the speech of the Sāsīs of the Northern Panjab. It might be characterised as intermediate between Pañjābī and Hindōstānī. Such correspondence in grammar cannot, however, prove more than that the Sāsīs have associated much with peoples speaking those tongues. It is quite certain that the stronghold of the tribe is the north of the Panjab, between the Sutlej and the Jhelum. Some phonetical features in Sāsī also point in that direction. Thus the old double consonants, which are so

¹ The postposition *gā* refers us rather to the Bāgrī dialect of Rājasthānī than to Hindōstānī. We may also compare *gāi*, the postposition of the Dative in the Dardic Maiyī. [G. A. G.]

common in the Prakrits, are treated differently in modern vernaculars. They are often retained and a preceding short vowel remains short in Pañjābī, while they are simplified and the preceding vowel lengthened in Hindōstānī and most Eastern languages. Compare Prakrit *ekka*, one, Pañjābī *ikk*, but Hindōstānī *ēk*; Prakrit *piṭṭhi*, back, Pañjābī *piṭṭh*, but Hindōstānī *pīṭh*. The Sāsī of the Panjab here marches with Pañjābī; compare *ékki*, one; *nākk*, nose; *hāth*, hand; *piṭṭh*, back. In the United Provinces we usually find forms with simplified compounds and long vowels. In Saharanpur, however, we find forms such as *miṭ*, back; *kanṭhā*, ear; *kuk*, eye, etc., which seem to show that the state of affairs is not quite the same as in Hindōstānī. The conditions in Sāsī do not therefore prove anything. More importance must be attached to the existence of a cerebral *l* and a cerebral *n* in Sāsī, for the use of those sounds is characteristic of western languages, such as Marāṭhī, Gujarātī, Rājasthānī and Pañjābī. Such cases of correspondence between Pañjābī and Sāsī are exactly what we would expect, considering where the stronghold of the Sāsīs is situated. The use of an oblique form ending in *ā* of weak nouns, on the other hand, seems to show that there is in Sāsī an element, a substratum, which does not belong to the Panjab, but rather more to the south, where we approach the Rājasthānī and Marāṭhī areas.

We are comparatively well informed about the Sāsī dialect of the Northern Panjab, which has been dealt with by Dr. Grahame Bailey. The remarks which follow refer to it.

Vowels are pronounced as in Pañjābī. Short vowels are sometimes so shortened as to be almost slurred. I have indicated this short pronunciation by means of the sign [˘]; thus, *bappā-gṽ*, to the father. A short vowel before an old double consonant in monosyllabic words becomes half long, but usually remains short if new syllables are added; thus, *ākkh*, eye; *kānn*, ear; *bāpp*, father, but *bappā-gā*, of a father. I have marked this semi-length by adding an accent above the vowel. The same accent is used with the sign of lengthening in forms such as *ātā*, coming; *chugṇē*, to graze; *chātā*, wishing. In that case it denotes a peculiar lengthening of a long vowel, which has no parallel in Pañjābī. A similar lengthening of an *ī* or *ū* occurs in forms such as *kīyyā*, done; *dīyyā*, given; *hūwā*, become, when the vowel is followed by a double *y* or *w*, respectively. The pronunciation of consonants is said to agree with Pañjābī. The principal point in which the two differ from Hindōstānī refers to aspirated letters in the beginning of syllables, the aspiration of such words being very guttural, almost like the Arabic 'ain. This rule applies to *h*, *gh*, *jh*, *dh*, *bh*, *nh* and *mh*. Thus, *hūwā*, become, is almost *ūwā*; *ghōṛā*, horse, is almost *g'ōṛā*, and so forth.

There are two genders, the masculine which is also used as a neuter, and the feminine. The oblique base of masculine nouns ending in *ī*, *ū*, and consonants, and of feminine nouns ends in *ā*, their case of the agent in *ē*. The nominative plural is like the singular in the case of masculine nouns, while feminines end in *ā*. The oblique plural ends in *ē*. Masculine nouns ending in *ā* change their *ā* to *ē* in the oblique case, to *ē* in the case of the agent, to *ē* in the

nominative plural and to *ē* in the oblique plural. The common case suffixes are,—dative *gū*; ablative *thō*; and genitive *gā*, feminine *gī*, plural *gā*. The usual Hindōstānī suffixes dative *kō*, ablative *sē*, genitive *kā*, *kī*, are used instead in the specimens received from Gujrat, Gurdaspur and Sialkot, and in the United Provinces the inflexion of nouns is the same as in Hindōstānī. According to Dr. Bailey the nominative, genitive and the case of the agent of *bápp*, father; *kūtā*, dog; and *dhīā*, daughter, are as follows :—

	Singular.			Plural.		
Nominative . . .	<i>bápp</i>	<i>kūtā</i>	<i>dhīā</i>	<i>bápp</i>	<i>kūtē</i>	<i>dhīā</i>
Genitive . . .	<i>bappā-gā</i>	<i>kūtē-gā</i>	<i>dhīā-gā</i>	<i>bappē-gā</i>	<i>kūtē-gā</i>	<i>dhīē-gā</i>
Agent . . .	<i>bappē</i>	<i>kūtē</i>	<i>dhīē</i>	<i>bappē-ōñō</i>	<i>kūtē-ōñō</i>	<i>dhīē-ōñō</i>

These are apparently the regular forms in the dialect of the Sāsīs of the Northern Panjab. They are not, however, the only ones. Thus, a list of words received from the Gujrat District contains forms such as *waddiā-dē pās*, to fathers, with the common Pañjābī genitive suffix.

Pronouns.

The following are the regular forms of the personal pronouns :—

	I.	We.	Thou.	You.
Nominative	<i>hañ</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>tañ</i>	<i>tam</i>
Agent	<i>mañ</i>	<i>hamō</i>	<i>tañ</i>	<i>tamō</i>
Dat.-Accusative	<i>manñ</i>	<i>ham-kō</i>	<i>tanñ</i>	<i>tum-kō</i>
Ablative	<i>mēsthē</i>	<i>ham-thō</i>	<i>tēsthē</i>	<i>tam-thō</i>
Genitive	<i>mērā</i>	<i>mhārā</i>	<i>tērā</i>	<i>tuhārā</i>

The demonstrative pronouns are *ēā*, this, oblique base *in*, case of the agent singular *in*, plural *inō*; *uh*, *ōh*, that, oblique base *un*, case of the agent singular *un*, plural *unō*. There is also a pronoun *tiārgā*, the thing or subject under discussion, which is substituted for nouns in order to prevent a stranger from understanding what is meant.

The common verb substantive is *hōñā*, to be. Its present participle is *hōtā*, being, and its conjunctive participle *hōikē*, having been. The present tense is formed as follows :—

Verbs.

Singular	1. <i>hañ</i> .	Plural	1. <i>hā</i> .
	2. <i>hañ</i> .		2. <i>hō</i> .
	3. <i>hai</i> .		3. <i>hañ</i> .

The past tense is singular masc. *thīyyā*, fem. *thīyyī*; plural masc. *thīyyē*, fem. *thīyyiā*; or *sīyyā*, fem. *sīyyī*; plural masc. *sīyyē*, fem. *sīyyiā*.

The verb substantive is largely used in the conjugation of ordinary verbs.

Present Time.—The old present is conjugated like the present tense of the verb substantive; thus, *haũ mārē*, I may beat; *baṛē*, he may enter; *khāhā*, we may eat. The present tense is formed by adding the present of the verb substantive to the present participle; thus, *ham mārte hā*, we are beating, we beat. Several compound tenses are used as a habitual present. Such are *haũ mārta hōta hāi*, I am being beaten; *haũ mārta kartā hāi*, I am doing beating; *haũ mārta rihā hāi*, I having beaten have remained.

Past Time.—The ordinary past tense is identical with the past participle passive; thus, *haũ gayā*, I went; *tam gaē*, you went. The past tense of transitive verbs is a passive form, and the subject is put in the case of the agent; thus, *hamō mārta*, by us beaten, we beat. Similarly also *maĩ mārta thīyyā* (or *sīyyā*), by me beaten was, I had beaten. Other forms of the past such as *haũ mārta thīyyā*, I was beating, are of course constructed actively.

Future.—The suffix of the future is *grā*, preceded by an *n* in the first and second persons singular and the first and third persons plural. The regular future forms of *mārṇā*, to beat, are :—

Singular	1. <i>māraṅgrā</i>	Plural	1. <i>māraṅgrē</i>
	2. <i>māraṅgrā</i>		2. <i>māragrē</i>
	3. <i>māragrā</i>		3. <i>māraṅgrē</i>

and *māraṅg*, indeclinable for singular and plural.

Similar forms are found in Maṇḍālī, Sukēti and Bilaspūri. Compare Maṇḍālī *māraṅg* or *mārghā*, I shall beat; Bilaspūri *māraṅgrā*, I shall beat.

Imperative.—The imperative is formed as in Pañjābī and Hindōstānī; thus, *mār*, beat; *mārō*, beat ye.

Infinitive and Participles.—The suffix of the infinitive is *ṇā*; thus, *mārṇā*, to beat. Compare Pañjābī *ṇā*, *nā*, Hindōstānī *nā*, Sindhi *nu*. The present participle ends in *tā* as in Hindōstānī; thus, *mārta*, beating. The past participle is generally formed as in Pañjābī; thus, *mārta*, beaten; *kahiā*, said; though Hindōstānī forms, such as *gayā*, gone, also occur. The conjunctive participle ends in *i*, *i-kē*; thus, *jāi*, having gone; *mār-i-kē*, having beaten. As in the suffix of the genitive the *k* is often softened to *g*; thus, *āi-gē*, having come; *dēhkī-gē*, having seen.

Passive Voice.—Passive forms agree with Pañjābī and Hindōstānī; thus, *haũ mārta jattā hāi*, I am beaten; *haũ mārta jattā thīyyā* (*sīyyā*), I was beaten; *haũ mārta jāṅgrā*, I shall be beaten.

The two specimens which follow illustrate the ordinary dialect of the Sāsīs in Northern Panjab. I owe them to the kindness of Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.

[No. 16.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSĪ.

ORDINARY DIALECT.

SPECIMEN I.

(Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.)

NORTHERN PANJAB.

Ēkki bandē-gē dō pūt thīyyē. Un bichchā nīkē
 One man-of two sons were. Them among by-the-little
 bappā-gū kahiā, 'bāpp, mālkiyā-gā jīhrā hissa ma-nū
 father-to it-was-said, 'father, property-of whatever part me-to
 ātā hai, ma-nū dē.' Un apnā sārā māl un-kō baṭī
 coming is, me-to give.' By-him own all property them-to dividing
 diyyā. Thōrē dinē-gē pīchhō nīkē mūṇḍē sārā kujjh
 was-given. Few days-of after by-the-little boy all whatever
 kaṭṭhā kiyyā tē dūrā-gē dēsā bichch jāi rihā. Ōṭhē
 together was-made and distance-of country in going stayed. There
 sārā māl bhaiṛē kammē bichch urāi dīnā. Jad
 all property evil works in causing-to-fly was-given. When
 sārā kharch karī līnā, us mulkhā bichch barā kāl pariā,
 all spent making was-taken, that country in great famine fell,
 tē ōh saurā parṇē laggā. Tad us mulkhā-gē ēkki ādmīā-gē
 and he narrow to-fall began. Then that country-of one man-of
 pās jāi apriā. Un apnē pailiē bichch sūr chugāṇē ghallīā,
 near going arrived. By-him own fields in pigs to-graze was-sent,
 tē ōh chhillū jīhriā sūr khattē thīyyē apnā pēt bharnē-gū chātā
 and he husks which pigs eating were own belly fill-to wishing
 thīyyā, par kōi nahī dētā thīyyā. Tad hōshā bichch āigē
 was, but anyone not giving was. Then sense in having-come
 kahṇē laggā, 'mērē bappā pās kinnē majūrē-gū bahut tūk
 to-say began, 'my father near how-many hired-labourers-to much food
 hai, tē haū bhūkhā martā haī. Haū uṭhīgē apnē bappā pās
 is, and I hungry dying am. I having-arisen own father near
 jāngrā tē us-kō kahngrā, "hē bāpp, māi shamānā-gā tē tērā gunāh
 will-go and him-to will-say, "O father, by-me heaven-of and thy sin
 kiyyā, iw is jōgā nahī ki bhi tērā pūt akhwāwē,
 was-done, now this worthy not that again thy son may-call-myself,

ma-nū apnē majurē bichchā ékkī jidā banā.”” Tad uṭhīgē
me-to own hired-labourers among one like make.”” Then having-arisen
 apnē bappā pās ṭuriā; tē ōh ajē dūr hī thīyyā ki us-kō
own father near went; and he yet far indeed was that him
 dēkhīgē us-kē bappā-gū tars āyā, tē dauṛīgē gal lāyā tē
having-seen his father-to pity came, and having-run neck pressed and
 barā chumiā. Pūṭē us-kō kahiā ki, ‘hē bāpp, māī
much kissed. By-son him-to it-was-said that, ‘O father, by-me
 shamānā-gā tē tērā gunāh kīyyā tē iw haū is jōgā nahī ki
heaven-of and thy sin was-done and now I this worthy not that
 bhī tērā pūt akhwāwē.’ Bappē apnē naukarē-gū kahiā ki,
again thy son may-be-called.’ By-father own servants-to it-was-said that,
 ‘changīā thō changī pushāk kadhī lē-āō tē is-kō lāō, tē
‘fine than fine raiment having-taken-out bring and him-to put-on, and
 is-kē haththā bichch chhāp tē pairē bichch juttī, tē palē hūwwē
him-of hand on ring and feet on shoes, and reared been
 wachchhē-gū lē-āīgē halāl karō, ki khāhā tē khushī
calf having-brought killed make, that we-may-eat and merry
 manāwā; kyū, mērā ēā pūt mari gayā thīyyā, iw jīwiā
we-may-make; why, my this son having-died gone was, now come-to-life
 hai; gawān gayā thīyyā, iw labhī pariā.’ Tad ōh khushī karṇē
is; lost gone was, now finding fell.’ Then they merry to-make
 laggē.
began.

Us-kā barā pūt paliā bichch thīyyā; jad gharā-gē nērē āyā,
Him-of big son field in was; when house-of in-vicinity came,
 gaṇē tē nachṇē-gā wāj suniā, tē ékkī naukarā thō pūchhiā ki,
singing and dancing-of sound was-heard, and one servant from asked that,
 ‘ēā kyā hai?’ Un us-kō kahiā ki, ‘tērā bhāī āyā, tē
‘this what is?’ By-him him-to it-was-said that, ‘thy brother came, and
 tērē bappē paliā hūwwā wachchhā halāl kīyyā hūwwā hai, is
by-thy father reared been calf killed made been is; this
 wāstē ki rāzī-bāzī labbhā.’ Un gussē hōīgē
on-account-of that safe-and-sound was-found.’ By-him angry having-become
 na chāhiā ki andar barē. Tad us-kē bappē bāhr
not was-wished that inside may-go. Then him-of by-father outside
 āīgē us-kō manāyā. Un bappā-gū jāwāb dīnā,
having-come him-to it-was-persuaded. By-him father-to answer was-given,
 ‘dēkh innē warhē-gī haū tērī ṭahl kartā haī, tē kadhī tērē
‘lo so-many years-of I thy service doing am, and ever thy

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Two of our saints were going along. They went to a village to beg and asked a female Jatt for milk, but she did not give it. When they went away, her milk was transformed into blood. Seeing that the milk had been changed to blood, the Jatt woman ran after them. They said to her, 'go home, little one, thy milk will be as before.' When she came home and saw it, then the milk had become as it used to be.

Those two saints did a miracle. One of them dug up an iguana with his elbow, cooked it, and ate it. Then he said to the other one, 'I have dug it up, and now thou restore it to life.' Then he put the bones together, waved his hand and said, 'go, little one, run away.' Then it ran away and became alive again. The names of those two saints were Bhalād Bhagat and Malaṅg, and Bhalād Bhagat was Malaṅg's maternal uncle.

The dialect spoken by the Sāsīs of the United Provinces is not so well known. Specimens have been received from Saharanpur and Kheri. They seem to show that the Sāsīs speak the same language as their neighbours. They are much less numerous than in the Panjab, and conditions are not favourable for preserving a strange dialect. It will be sufficient to give a short specimen, received from Kheri, as an illustration of the speech of the Sāsīs, or Sāsiyās, as they are here called, of the United Provinces. It is practically Hindōstānī. It is, of course, likely enough that other Sāsiyās speak a dialect more closely related to that illustrated in the preceding pages.

[No. 18.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSIYĀ.

ORDINARY DIALECT.

DISTRICT KHERI.

Jānē-mē	katyā	bachyā	pārē	thē.	Das	rupiā
<i>Winter-in</i>	<i>cows</i>	<i>calves</i>	<i>tending</i>	<i>were.</i>	<i>Ten</i>	<i>rupees</i>
chapwārē-nē	māgē	thē.	Ham-par	nikrē	nāhī.	Ham-kō
<i>sub-inspector-by</i>	<i>demanded</i>	<i>were.</i>	<i>Us-on</i>	<i>were-found</i>	<i>not.</i>	<i>Us</i>
pakar-kar	Mirat	pahōchā	diyē.	Wahā	kaid	
<i>having-seized</i>	<i>Meerut</i>	<i>having-caused-to-reach</i>	<i>were-given.</i>	<i>There</i>	<i>imprisoned</i>	
kar	diyē.	Barī	hō	gaē.	Phir	Sūrtāpur-kō
<i>making</i>	<i>were-given.</i>	<i>Acquitted.</i>	<i>becoming</i>	<i>went.</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>Sultanpur-to</i>
bhēj	diyē.	Sūrtāpur-mē	chār	baras	rahē.	Sūrtāpur-mē
<i>sending</i>	<i>were-given.</i>	<i>Sultanpur-in</i>	<i>four</i>	<i>years</i>	<i>remained.</i>	<i>Sultanpur-in</i>
muñj	aur	rāmbans	kuttī	thē.	Ham-nē	munsi-sē
<i>munja</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>aloe-fibres</i>	<i>hammering</i>	<i>were.</i>	<i>Us-by</i>	<i>Munshi-to</i>
kahā	ki,	‘ham-kō	ēk.	arjī,	yahā-sē	likh
<i>was-said</i>	<i>that,</i>	<i>‘us-to</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>petition,</i>	<i>here-from</i>	<i>writing</i>
ki	ham	yā-sē	aur	jagah	basāē.	jāē.’
<i>that</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>here-from</i>	<i>other</i>	<i>place</i>	<i>settled</i>	<i>may-go.’</i>
yeh	hukum	diyā	ki,	‘yā-sē	nikar-kē	bañ-mē
<i>this</i>	<i>order</i>	<i>was-given</i>	<i>that,</i>	<i>‘here-from</i>	<i>having-gone-out</i>	<i>forest-in</i>
basāē	jāē.’	Ham	bañ-mē	āē	aur	bañ-sē
<i>settled</i>	<i>may-go.’</i>	<i>We</i>	<i>forest-in</i>	<i>came</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>forest-from</i>
maḥinē-ki	chhuṭṭī	lē-kar	apnē	bēṭē-ko	milnē-ko	gaē.
<i>month-of</i>	<i>leave</i>	<i>having-taken</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>son-to</i>	<i>meeting-for</i>	<i>went.</i>

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

In the winter I had been tending cattle. The sub-inspector demanded ten rupees from me, and as I had not got them I was seized and sent to Meerut, where I was put in prison. Afterwards I was released and sent to Sultanpur, where I remained for four years, beating *muñja* and *Rām* reeds (for basket work). I said to the Munshi, ‘I have a petition. Write that I may be settled in some other place.’ The lord gave order that I might go thence and be settled in the jungle. I came to the jungle, and there I took one month’s leave and went to see my son.

The specimens printed above illustrate the ordinary dialect of the Sāsīs, especially that spoken in Northern Panjab. As we have seen it mainly agrees with Pañjābī in phonology, while its inflexional forms are intermediate between that language and Hindōstānī ; some of the case suffixes being identical with those used in the latter form of speech. I have already mentioned that this partial agreement with Hindōstānī can very well be a consequence of the migratory life of the Sāsīs. At present most of them live in Government Reservations and in circumstances which are not favourable for the preservation of the purity of their dialect.

Formerly their condition was different. In the words of Abdul Ghafur, 'they are professional thieves and very brave.' In order to be able to converse with each other without being understood by outsiders, they have, like other criminal tribes, in addition to their real dialect, devised a criminal variation, an argot or 'thieves' Latin' which they themselves call *Fārsī*, Persian.

This is not, however, a different dialect, but identical with the common speech in phonology and grammar. Moreover, it is not known to all Sāsīs, young children being unacquainted with it. It is based on the ordinary dialect and consists in changing individual words so as to make them unrecognizable. As in the case of European argots, it contains a number of peculiar words, probably picked up from various sources, most of which cannot so far be satisfactorily explained. Dr. Bailey has published a long list of them. Many of them are well-known Aryan words. Others such as *kūkar*, cock, are onomatopœic. Several are based on some metaphor, as is often the case in European argots. Compare *gōlī*, poison used for putting into the food of cultivators' cattle, *lit.* pill ; *charāwā*, advocate, *lit.* herdsman ; *khurā*, lower part of leg, *lit.* hoof. Some words are also apparently borrowed from other languages ; thus, *bārmī*, woman, wife, might be compared with Sherpa *permi* ; *nād*, village, with Kanarese *nādu*, country, Gōṇḍī *nār*, village ; *lallī*, night, with Arabic *laila*. The greatest portion of the vocabulary of Criminal Sāsī, however, consists of common words changed or disguised in various ways.

The letters of a word are often transposed. Thus we find *kābrā* instead of *bakrā*, goat ; *khūm* perhaps instead of *mukh*, face ; *chōmī* instead of *mōchī*, shoemaker ; *chhāmī* instead of *māchhī*, a certain water-carrying caste ; *ṭēp* instead of *pēt*, belly ; *ṭiph* instead of *piṭṭh*, back ; *bakat* instead of *batak*, duck, and so on.

The most common device of disguising words is, however, to add a syllable in front, and this addition often entirely supersedes the beginning of the word. Thus the ordinary Sāsī word for 'ten' is *das*. By adding *kha* in front we get *khadas* and finally *khas*, both of which are used in Criminal Sāsī. Similarly we find *bāl*, *khābāl* and *chhābāl*, hair ; *pair*, *khapair*, *chhapair* and *nhair*, foot, and so forth. The usual additions of this kind which occur in the materials at my disposal are as follows :—

k added before vowels. With a following *a* it becomes *ku*, *kó*, with a following *ā* *kō* ; thus, *kukkhī*, Pañjābī *akkhī*, eye ; *kókkh*, Pañjābī *akkh*, eye ; *kundar* and *andar*, inside ; *kuggē*, Pañjābī *aggē*, in front of ; *kōṭṭā* and *āṭā*, flour ; *kōṭh* = *āṭh*, eight ; *kōdmī* = *ādmī*, man ; *kōnnā* = *ānā*, anna.

kh is also sometimes added before vowels ; thus, *khassī* = *assī*, eighty ; *khūpār* = *ūpār*, above. More commonly, however, we find the syllable *kha* added before words

beginning with consonants ; thus, *khatin*, three ; *khadand*, tooth ; *khadas*, ten ; *khanāk*, nose ; *khanaū*, nine ; *khapair*, foot ; *khamaī*, by me ; *kharājū*, Pañjābī *rājī*, pleased. The additional syllable *kha* then often supersedes the initial syllable of the word ; thus, *khuntā*, an iron and wood instrument for digging, cf. Hindōstānī *gaintā* ; *khās*=*das*, ten ; *khaū*=*nau*, nine ; *khákk*=*nákk*, nose ; *khigaḷnā*=*nikalnā*, to come out ; *khīs*=*bīs*, twenty ; *khūh*=*mūh*, mouth ; *khikhṇā*=*likhnā*, to write ; *khōth*=*hāth*, hand.

g is apparently used in a similar way, though I have not found more than one certain instance, viz. *gupāhī*=*sipāhī*, soldier.

ch only occurs as a substitute for *b* ; thus, *chatāṇā*=*batānā*, to show ; *chōlī*=*bōlī*, speech. It is, however, possible that it can be used instead of other labials. Thus, *chaī*, water, may be for *pānī* ; compare Kōlhaṭī *chēnī*. In Western Pahārī, however, we find a similar word *chīs*, water.

chh is quite common ; thus, *chhakān*=*kānn*, ear ; *chhapair*=*pair*, foot ; *chhabārmī*=*bārmī*, woman ; *chhabāptā* and *bāptā*, father ; *chhabhautā* and *bhautā*, brother ; *chhabhaiṇ* and *bhāṇ*, sister. This *chh* often replaces the initial consonant ; thus, *chhútt*, *chhapútt* and *pútt*, son ; *chhauht*=*bahut*, much ; *chhattū*=*bhattū*, a Sāsī man ; *chhāhar*=*bāhar*, outside ; *chhaḷak*=*baḷak*, tomorrow ; *chhūhā*=*būhā*, door ; *chhaiṇṇā*=*waiṇṇā*, calf. In all these instances the original word begins with a labial, and Dr. Bailey restricts the change to such words as begin with *b*, and that is no doubt usually the case. In the materials received from Gurdaspur and Sialkot, however, we also find forms such as *chhakānn*, ear ; *chhangāh*=*gunāh*, sin ; *chhaghar*, house ; *chhaurat*, woman ; *chhakaun*, who ? *chhakayā*, what ? *chhagadhā*, ass, and so forth.

j and *jh* are used in the same way as *ch* and *chh* ; thus, *jadā*=*barā*, big ; *jhūkhā* and *chhūkhā*=*bhūkhā*, hungry.

ḍh is comparatively frequent ; thus, *ḍhagaḷ*=*gal*, neck ; *ḍhanērē*=*nērē*, near ; *ḍhabāṇ*=*bāṇ*, sister ; *ḍhabāptā*=*bāptā*, father ; *ḍhamulḱ*=*mulk*, country. In *ḍhāmā*, village, *ḍh* seems to have superseded an old *g*. *D* in *ḍimṇā*=*jimnā*, to eat, is used in a similar way.

n is a common substitute for various sounds ; thus, *nālī*=*chālī*, forty ; *nōrī*=*chōrī*, theft ; *nīriyā*=*chīriyā*, bird ; *neōklā*=*chhōkrā*, boy ; *nikat*=*ṭikat*, ticket ; *nōmbū*=*ṭōmbū*, a house-breaking instrument ; *naukhṇā*=*dēkhṇā*, see ; *nañj*=*pañj*, five ; *naṇṇā*=*paṇṇā*, read ; *nūchhṇā*=*pūchhṇā*, ask ; *nair*=*pair*, foot ; *nāgg*=*pāgg*, turban ; *nēṭ*=*pēṭ*, belly ; *nōhaḷ*=*bōhaḷ*, heap of grain ; *nālī*=*lālī*, night ; *nadhūk*=*ṣandūq*, box ; *nāhb*=*sāhb*, ṣāhib ; *naihr*=*ṣahar*, city ; *nūraj* or *nhūraj*=*sūraj*, sun ; *nāth*=*sāth*, with.

nh is often substituted for aspirated letters and for *s* ; thus, *nhē*=*chhē*, six ; *nhōḍṇā*=*chhōḍṇā*, leave ; *nhōllē*=*chhōllē*, gram ; *nhīk*=*ṭhīk*, right ; *nhāṇā*=*thānā*, police station ; *nhālī*=*thālī*, brass vessel ; *nhittā*=*phittā*, abuse ; *nhat*=*sat*, seven ; *nhir*=*sir*, head ; *nhīkṇā*=*sīkhṇā*, learn ; *nhīs*=*sīs*, head, and so forth.

p does not seem to be much used in this way. I have found it in *pōdnā*=*chōdnā*, to have sexual intercourse with, and perhaps in *pīngī*, fire ; *pīrl*, oil, etc.

b is often prefixed to words beginning with vowels, thus, *bēā*=*ēā*, this; *biw*=*iw*, now; *bōṭṭhē*=*ōṭṭhē*, there; *baur*=*aur*, and; *bēk*=*ēk*, one. Before consonants we find *ba*; thus, *bagōllē*, gram; *balūā*, rupee. In *barlāṭhī*, stick, we have a double prefix *bar*. In other cases *b* replaces an initial consonant; thus, *bōrā*=*chhōrā*, boy; *bāḍī*=*chāḍī*, silver; *bēndrā*=*jandrā*, lock; *bīwar*=*jhiūr*, water-carrier; *bēṇḍhā*=*saṇḍhā*, male buffalo; *banh*=*sanh*, house-breaking; *baunā*=*sōnā*, gold; *bunyārā*=*sunyārā*, goldsmith; *bindū*, Hindu, etc.

r and *rh*, finally, are often substituted for *k*, *kh*, respectively; thus, *rāṭhī*=*kāṭhī*, saddle; *rēṭṇā*=*kāṭṇā*, cut; *rāl*=*kāl*, famine; *ruñjī*=*kuñjī*, key; *rudāh* or *rhadhāi*=*khudā*, God; *rhaphā*=*khafā*, angry; *rhijmat*=*khidmat*, service; *rhēt*=*khēt*, field; *rhāṭ*=*khāṭ*, bed, and so forth.

It will be seen from the examples quoted that one and the same word often occurs in many variously disguised forms. Thus we find *khapair*, *chhapair*, *nair* and *pair*, foot; *chhabāptā*, *ḍhabāptā* and *bāptā*, father; *bagōllē*, *nhōllē* and *chhōllē*, gram, and so on. There is not, so far as we can see, any principle according to which one or the other form is chosen. The use of different letters in order to make a word unrecognizable is, so far as can be ascertained, absolutely arbitrary, and it is impossible to detect any rules regulating the choice between them.

Another way of disguising words is by adding consonants after them. Such additions are:—

k in *chulkṇā*, to speak; cf. *chōlī*=*bōlī*, speech. A *kh* has apparently been inserted in the middle of a word in *mikhltā*=*miltā*, is being met with.

g is common after *r* in several pronominal forms; thus, *mērgā*, my; *tērgā*, thy; *kēhrgā*, which. It is further added after verbs such as *kauhgnā*=*kahnā*, tell; *rauhgnā*=*rahnā*, remain; *gaugnā*, to go; *gaugā*, went, cf. *gayā*, went. It also occurs in several stray instances such as *kadgī*, ever; *kōggī*, *kōī*, anyone; *chaug*=*chār*, four; *duhāngī*=*duhāi*, appeal; *hukamgā-kō*, the command, and so forth.

ṭh is added in *naūṭhā*=*nāi*, name; *dūrṭhā*=*dūr*, far; *naīṭhī*=*nāi*, barber.

t occurs in forms such as *bāptā*, father; *bhautā*, brother; *mautī*, mother; and a double addition *dhrē* is used in *jaūdhre*=*jaū*, barley.

p is added after vocalic bases; thus, *dēpnā*, to give; *lēpnā*, to take; *hōpnā*, to become. Similarly *nāhpī*, not. The use of an added *b* is more doubtful. I have noted *lēgbā*=*lagā*, began; and in *chhābrā*=*chhagrā*, goat, *b* seems to have superseded *g* in the middle of a word.

r is added in words such as *dhōr*, two; *thēr*, three. In *jasrna*, go; *asrna*, come, *sr* has been added after the base.

More sporadic interchange of consonants can be observed in forms such as *kumbhlā*=*kumhār*, potter; cf. *neōklā*=*chhōkrā*, boy; *gaunā*=*gādhā*, ass, etc.

Abbreviated forms also occur; such are *kōndh*, the dark half of a month; *khōṇā*=*khōlnā*, to open; *pāgg*=*pagrī*, turban.

The preceding examples will have shown that also the vowels are occasionally changed. Thus, *a* and *ā* become *u*, *o* and *ō*, respectively, when a *k* is prefixed; compare *kuggē*, before; *kōdmī*, man. When a *g* is added *a* and *ā* often become *au*; thus, *kauhgnā*, to tell; *gaugā*, went; *chaug*, four. Compare also *bhautā*, brother;

mautī, mother. In other instances an *a*-sound is changed to *ē*; thus, *chēnguā*=*changā*, good; *bēṇḍhā*=*saṇḍhā*, male buffalo; *lēgbā*=*lagā*, began; *rēkhwaṇā*=*rakhṇā*, place; *rēṭnā*=*kāṭnā*, cut. *I* and *u* are sometimes interchanged; thus, *biṇḍī*=*bundā*, eardrop; *gupāhī*=*sipāhī*, soldier; *kharājū*=*rājī*, pleased. An *ē* or *ai* may be changed to *u* or *au*; thus, *khuntā*=*gaintā*, pickaxe; *naukhṇā*=*dēkhṇā*, see; *ō* is occasionally replaced by *au* or *eō*; thus, *baunā*=*sōnā*, gold; *neōklā*=*chhōkrā*, boy. Other instances of interchange are *baleā*=*billā*, cat; *leōkrī*=*lakrī*, wood; *gāddar*=*gīdar*, jackal, and so forth. All such changes are apparently quite arbitrary. Note also double changes in words such as *khadēpaṅgrā*=*dēṅgrā*, will give; *khanitṭh*=*pitṭh*, back; *chulkṇā*=*bōlnā*, to speak; *chhangāh*=*gunāh*, sin; *ḍhamkīr*=Kashmir; *dhumalmān*=Musalmān; *ṭhūb*=*ūṭh*, camel, and so forth.

None of these changes affects the grammar of the dialect. The inflexional forms remain the same. The individual words alone are changed. Thus many of the pronouns appear in a new shape; compare *khamāi* and *maī*, by me; *khamērā*, *khamērgā*, *mērgā* and *mērā*, my, and so on. The present tense of the verb substantive is *hōpē*, *hōpē*, *hōpē*, and so forth, or *hōpē* throughout; "I went" is *gauhgā* or *jasriā* and so forth.

It follows from what has already been said that the Criminal Sāsī is not a separate dialect, and that the individual words have no fixed forms. Ordinary words are of course used to a great extent, and the degree in which they are disguised, and the manner of disguising, differ. The specimens which follow will give a good idea of this argot. The first two have been placed at my disposal by Dr. Grahame Bailey, the chief authority on Sāsī. The third has been received from Gurdaspur. The Standard List of Words and Sentences in ordinary and criminal Sāsī, for which I am likewise indebted to the kindness of Dr. Bailey, will be found on pp. 178ff.

[No. 19.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSĪ.

CRIMINAL VARIATION.

SPECIMEN I.

(Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.)

Békkī kōdmīā-gē dhōr bōrē thīyyē. Bun bichchā khikē
One man-of two boys were. Them among by-the-little
 bāptē-gū kauhgīā ki, 'hē bāptē, dhamālā-gā jihrgā khissa mērgā.
father-to it-was-said that, 'O father, property-of what share mine
 asrta hōpē, manñ dēpī nōd.' Bun buṇ-kō khapṇā nhārgā
coming is, me-to giving leave.' By-him them-to own all
 dhamāl khabaṭi nōdiā. Nhōrē khrōjē nichhē khikē bōrē nhārgā
property dividing was-left. Few days after by-little boy all
 māl natthā kūligē khadūr dhamulkā bichch jasrigē rauhgīā,
property together having-made distant country in having-gone stayed,
 tē bōthē nhārgē naisē nhairē nammē bichch khalāi nōdiā.
and there all pice evil works in expending left.
 Jad nhārgā nharch kūli linā, bus dhamulkā bichch jaḍā
When all spent doing was-taken, that country in great
 dhakāl ṭawīā. Bōh chhauht naurā ṭawīā. Tad bus dhamulkā-gē
famine fell. He very narrow fell. Then that country-of
 békkī kōdmīā-gē nās gaugā, buṇ bus-kō khapṇīē nailīē bichch ṭūṇḍē
one man-of near went, by-him him own fields in pigs
 nhugāṇē ghēlwiā, tē bus-kī kharji thī buṇ ṭāphlē-gū jihrgē
to-graze he-was-sent, and him-of wish was those fodders which
 ṭūṇḍē dīmtē thīyyē khapṇā nēṭ nharē; bus-kō kōi nahī dēptā.
pigs eating were own belly may-fill; him-to anyone not giving
 thīyyā. Bhī nōshā bichch asrigē kauhgnē laggā, 'mērgē
was. Then sense in having-come to-say began, 'my
 bāptē-gē nās jaḍē khajūrē-gū chhauht ṭimī hōpē, tē hañ
father-of near many hired-labourers-to much food is, and I
 chhūkhā lūgtā hōpē. Hañ khapṇē bāptē nās jasraṅgrā tē
hungry dying am. I own father near will-go and
 kauhgaṅgrā ki, "hē bāptē, mañ namānā-gā tē tērgā jaḍā nasūr
will-say that, "O father, by-me heaven-of and thy great sin

kūliā hōpē, biwkē haū his khajōgā nahī hōpē ki kōdmī manū tērgā
done is, now I this worthy not am that men me thy
 bōrā kauhgē; dhamanū khajūrē jidā rēkhwi nōd.”” Bhi
boy may-say; me hired-labourers like placing leave.”” Then
 buthigē khapnē bāptē nās gangā, tē bōh khajē khadūr thiyyā,
having-arisen own father near went, and he yet far was,
 ki bus-kō naukhigē bus-kē bāptē-gū dhrahm asriā, tē bīnkigē
that him having-seen him-of father-to compassion came, and having-run
 bus-kō dhaḡaḡ layā tē chhauht khachumiā. Bōrē bus-kō
him-to neck was-pressed and much it-was-kissed. By-boy him-to
 kauhgiā ki, ‘hē bāptē, maī dhamānā-gā tē tērgā nasūr
it-was-said that, ‘O father, by-me heaven-of and thy sin
 kūliā, biwkē his khajōgā nahī hōpē ki bhi tērgā bōrā
was-made, now this worthy not am that again thy boy
 rauhgē.’ Bāptē khapnē khaukarē-gū kauhgiā ki, ‘nhārē
may-remain.’ By-father own servants-to it-was-said that, ‘all
 satthā chēnguē rīchrē lē-asrō tē bis-kō dhalāō, tē bis-kē khōthā-gū
than fine clothes bring and this-of put-on, and this-of hand-to
 nhāp tē nhairē-gū paupī, tē tōmē kāṅgaḡ-gū lē-asrigē balāl
ring and feet-to shoes, and fat calf having-brought killed
 kūlō, ki dīmā tē nushī kūlā. Mērgā bēā bōrā
make, that we-may-eat and merry may-make. My this boy
 lūgī gaugā thiyyā, biwkē khajīwī ṭawīā; gawān gaugā thiyyā,
having-died gone was, now living fell; lost gone was,
 biw khalabhī ṭawīā.’ Bhi bōh nushī kūlnē laggē.
now having-found fell.’ Then they merry to-make began.

Buskā jaḡā bōrā naiḡiā bichch thiyyā. Jad khaulē asriā,
Him-of big boy field in was. When house-to came,
 dhagaunē tē khanachnē-gā khawāj nhupiā. Tad bēkki
singing and dancing-of sound was-heard. Then one
 khanaukarā-gū chulāigē nūchhiā ki, ‘bēā kyā hōpē?’ Bun
servant-to having-called it-was-asked that, ‘this what is?’ By-him
 bus-kō kauhgiā, ‘tērgā bhautā asriā hōpē, tērgē bāptē tōmā
him-to it-was-said, ‘thy brother come is, by-thy by-father fat
 kāṅgaḡ balāl kūliā, khis nāstē ki bōh chēnguā
calf killed was-made, this on-account-of that he well
 khalabhī ṭawīā.’ Bōh kharinj hōpiā tē bus-kī kharjī kundar
having-found fell.’ He angry became and him-of wish inside
 jasrē-gī nahī thī. Bhi bus-kā bāptā chhār asrigē bus-kō
going-of not was. Then him-of father outside having-come him

kharājū kūḷṇē laggā. Bun bāptē-gū khwāb dēpiā, 'naukhī
pleased to-make began. By-him father-to answer was-given, 'seeing
 lēp, khitnē narsē-gī tērgī khatahl kultā hōpē, tē kadhī tērgā khākhā
take, so-many years-of thy service doing am, and ever thy saying
 nahī nōriā; tē taī kadhī bēk chhābrī nahī dēpi, ki
not was-broken; and by-thee ever one goat not was-given, that
 khapṇē khōstē nāthth nushī kūḷē; jad tērgā bēā bōrā asriā
own friends with merry may-make; when thy this boy came
 jīn tērgā dhamāl bēnjriē bichch lāyā, taī bus-kē
by-whom thy property harlots among was-spent, by-thee him-of
 liyyē tōmā kāngal balāl kūḷiā.' Bun bus-kō kauhgiā,
for-the-sake fat calf killed was-made.' By-him him-to it-was-said,
 'taū nadā mērgē nās hōpē; jīhrgā mērgā hōpē, tērgā hōpē. Par
'thou always my side art; what mine is, thine is. But
 naujā kūḷṇiā tē nush hōpnā chāhītā thīyyā; kyū, tērgā bēā
merriments to-make and happy to-be proper was; why, thy this
 bhautā lugi gaugā thīyyā, biwkē jiwī ṭawiā; gawān gaugā
brother having-died gone was, now living fell; lost gone
 hīyyā, biwkē khalabhī ṭawiā.'
was, now finding fell.'

[No. 20.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSI.

CRIMINAL VARIATION.

SPECIMEN II.

(Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.)

Mhārgē dhōr pīr nurē jasartē thīyyē. Békki nádd
Our two saints going-along going were. One village
 chhēngnē gaugē. Békki khētiā nāsā khadúddh chhēngiā.
to-beg went. One female-Jaṭṭ from milk was-asked.
 Buṇ nahī dēpiā. Buh nurī gaugē, bus-kā khadúddh
By-her not was-given. They going-away went, her-of milk
 khalahū hōpī gaugā. Buṇ khētiā nōkhiā bhaī khadúddh
blood becoming went. By-that female-Jaṭṭ it-was-seen that milk
 khalahū hōpī gaugā, buh bhī nīchhē biṅkī. Buṇō kauhgiā,
blood becoming went, she then after ran. By-them it-was-said,
 'bōrī, jasar, tērgā khadúddh busī narah hōpī jasragrā.' Buh khaulē
'girl, go, thy milk that-very way becoming will-go.' She home
 asarī tē nōkhiā, tē khadúddh busī narah hōpī gaugā thīyyā.
went and it-was-seen, and milk that-very way becoming gone was.
 Buṇī dhōr pīrē ōṇō bēkk karāmāt kūlī. Békki
Those-very two by-saints by-them one miracle was-done. By-one
 arkā náthth dōph nuṭṭī. Bhī bus-kō khriddigē
elbow with iguana was-dug-up. Then it having-cooked
 dīmiā. Bhī buṇ nūsre-gō kauhgiā bhaī, 'maī' nuṭṭī,
it-was-eaten. Then by-him other-to it-was-said that, 'by-me was-dug-up,
 taū bis-kō bhī narājīt kūlī.' Bhī buṇ kōḍḍiā naṭṭhiā
thou this again alive make.' Then by-him bones together
 kūlīā, tē kóthth nhērigē kauhgnē laggā, 'jasar khabachcha,
were-made, and hand having-waved to-say began, 'go little-one,
 biṅkī jasar.' Bhī buh biṅkī gaugī tē narājīt hōpī
running go.' Then it running went and alive becoming
 gaugī. Tē buṇ dhōrē pīrē-gē naūthē Bhalād Bhagat tē
went. And those two saints-of names Bhalād Bhagat and
 Malang thīyyē, tē Bhalād Bhagat Malangā-gā dhamāmā thīyyā.¹
Malang were, and Bhalād Bhagat Malang-of mother's-brother was.

¹ For a free translation of this specimen, see above, p. 58.

[No. 21.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSĪ.

CRIMINAL VARIATION.

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT GURDASPUR.

Bēkī mānkhē-tē dhōr chhabōhrē thē. Khikē-nē bappā-thiā
One man-to two sons were. Younger-by father-to
 kaugiā paī, 'ē bappā, jō mērgiā dhagliā asartā hai chhaīdvī
it-was-said that, 'O father, which my share coming is' dividing
 dē.' Jō kuchh thiā chhaīdvī dīnā. Thōrī dīhā pichhūā
give.' What ever was dividing was-given. Few days after
 khikē chhabōhrē-nē nabh kuchh lēpī-kē dūr dhamulkhā-kō
younger. son-by all whatever having-taken distant country-to
 chilpiā gōgā. Bōthī jasrī jāi raugiā; jērā dhamāl
walked went. There having-gone having-gone stayed; what property
 thiā, bō bōthī dimī līnā. Jad nabh kuchh rharch kūlī
was, that there eating was-taken. When all whatever spent making
 dēpiā, bus dhamulkhā wichch chhaut rāl tauī gaugā, hōr
was-given, that country in great famine falling went, and
 chhūkhā lūgnē lēgbā, ta bēkī rārū khaulē jasrī raugiā.
hungry to-die began, and one citizen in-house having-gone stayed.
 Bus-kō tūdhē nageō-nē nhējiā. Bus-kā biyāhī matbal thiā paī
Him-to swine to-graze it-was-sent. Him-of this desire was that
 'jō nhikkar tūdhē dimtē bōi nhikkar dimī-kē nhēt nhar
'which husks swine eat those husks having-eaten belly fill
 lēpūgā,' paī bus-kō kōi dēptā nāhī thiā. Nhēr bus-nū nhurt
may-take,' because him-to anyone giving not was. Then him-to sense
 asrī gaugi baur kaugnē lēgbā ki, 'mērgē bappā-kē khabauht khīti
coming went and to-say began that, 'my father-of much bread
 mikhiti thī, haū chhūkhā lūgtā haī. Haū kūthī-kē āpnē
being-got was, I hungry dying am. I having-arisen own
 bāptē-kē nhās jasrūgā baur bus-kō kaugūgrā paī, "ē bāptē, māī
father-of near will-go and him-to will-say that, "O father, by-me
 tērgā baur rhadhāi-kā chhangāh kūliā, baur bis khalāikī-kā nāhpi
thy and God-of sin was-done, and this worthiness-of not

ki mungō tērgā chhabōhrā mānkhē kaugā. Mungō kuāpnē rāmā
that me thy son men may-call. Me own servants
 khawichcha bēk khamjūr chhanēwī lepp.” Ib kuāpnē bappā
among one hired-labourer engaging take.” Then own father
 nhās khaturī chilpiā. Ōh ajē dūrthē thiā, khabappā-kō khadēkhi-kē
near walking went. He yet far-off was, father-to having-seen
 kharaihm asriā, baur durkhī-kē chhaglā-kē nhāth lēwī lēpiā baur
compassion came, and having-run neck-of with applying took and
 khachummiā. Bōhrē-nē bus-kō kaugiā, ‘rē bāp, māi tērgā
kissed. Son-by him-to it-was-said, ‘O father, by-me thy
 ar rhadhāi-kā dhagnāh kūliā. Is khalāikī-kā khanāhī khaabhi
and God-of sin was-done. This worthiness-of not now
 tērgā bōhrā dhamannū kaugē.’ Dhabappē kuāpnē khanaukrē-kō
thy son me they-may-call.’ By-the-father own servants-to
 kaugiā paī, ‘koachchhī dahniā lēpi asar baur bis-kē dāwō,
it-was-said that, ‘good clothes taking come and this-on put-round,
 baur khōthā wichch nhāp chaugaī kharkāi dāwī dēpō, baur ham
and hand on ring on-feet shoes putting give, and we
 khadimiē ar rhusī kūlā, paī khamērā chhabōhrā lūgi
eating and merry let-make, that my son having-died
 gaugiā, khajiwi tawīā; guāchgī gaugā siā, khabib libhwi tawīā.’ Bib
went, alive fell; lost gone was, now found fell.’ Now
 bōh rhusī kūlnē lēgbē.
they merry to-make began.

Jadā chhabōhrā rhētā wichch thiā. Jad khaulē nhās asriā
Big boy field in was. When house near came
 roāchnē-kī khanāchnē-kī dhawāj nhunī Khataḍ khanaukrā-kō
singing-of dancing-of sound was-heard. Then servants-to
 chalēwī-kē nūchhiā, ‘hia chhiā hōpi raugiā?’ Bus-nē
having-called it-was-asked, ‘this what becoming is?’ Him-by
 kaugiā, ‘tērgā bhāutā asriā, baur tērgē bappā-nē khīti dhamaī paī
it-was-said, ‘thy brother came, and thy father-by feast was-given that
 kharājū-khabājū mikhli tawīā.’ Bus-nē rhapā hōpi-kē khanāhī
safe-and-sound being-met fell.’ Him-by angry becoming not
 khachāhiā paī, ‘kūndar jāsā.’ Bus-kē bappā-nē chhāhar asrikē
wished that, ‘inside I-may-go.’ His father-by outside having-come
 bus-kō chhamanāyā. Bus-nē bappā-kō khajawāb dēpi. dīnā,
him-to was-entreated. Him-by father-to answer having-given was-given,
 ‘khadēkh, bitnē nhālē tērgī rhiimat kūltā ribā, baur khatērgī
‘see, so-many years thy service doing remain, and thy

hukamgā-kō kadgi khanāhī makhōriā. Pur khataī radī bēk
order ever not was-transgressed. But by-thee ever one
 chhēbriā-kā chhāunā khanāhī dēpiā ki āpnē khadōstā nhāth rhusī
she-goat-of kid not was-given that own friends with merry
 kūlā. Baur jad khatērā biā chhabōhrā asriā khajis-nē khatērā
may-make. And when thy this son came whom-by thy
 khamāl dhāchniā khawichch khadēwiā, khataī bus-kē khawāstē khīṭī
property harlots among was-wasted, by-thee him-of for-the-sake feast
 kūlī.' Bus-nē kaugiā, ' bē chhabōhrē, khataū mērgē nhās
was-made.' Him-by it-was-said, ' O son, thou my near
 nhadhāi hōpai, baur jō khamērgā hai, sō tērgā-ī hai. Par
always art, and what mine is, that thine-also is. But
 nhusī kūlnī khachāhitī hōpai, khakyū, ēh tērgā bhāutā luggī
merry to-make proper is, why, this thy brother having-died
 gaugā, khajiwi ṭawiā; dhaguāchi gaugā, baur lēbhwi ṭawiā.'
went, alive fell; lost went, and being-found fell.'

KÖLHĀṬĪ.

The Kōlhāṭīs are a tribe of rope dancers and tumblers in Bombay, Berar and the

Name. Hyderabad State. They are said¹ to take their name from *kōlhāṭ*, the bamboo on which they perform. The correspond-

ing Kanarese form of the name, however, is *kollaṭiga*, which is a compound of *kōl-kōl*, a stick, a rod, and *aṭiga*, a player. In the Bombay Presidency they are also called Dōmbārī or Dōmbhārī, which word must have something to do with Dōm, the name of another Gipsy tribe. According to Mr. Balfour they call themselves Bhatū; compare *bhattū*, the name used by Sāsīs to indicate a man of their tribe.

Occupation. In the Bombay Presidency the Kōlhāṭīs are also makers of the small buffalo horn

pulleys which are used with cart ropes in fastening loads.

They also make hide combs and gunpowder flasks. When a girl comes of age, she is called to choose between marriage and prostitution. If, with her parents' consent, she wishes to lead a married life, she is well taken care of and carefully watched. If she chooses to be a tumbler and a prostitute, she is taken before the caste council, a feast is given, and with the consent of the council she is declared a prostitute. The prostitutes are not allowed to eat with other Kōlhāṭīs, except with their own children. Still, when they grow old, their caste-fellows support them.² According to Major Gunthorpe,³ the Kōlhāṭīs of the Dekhan 'belong to the great Sānsya family of robbers and claim their descent from Mallanūr, the brother of Sānsmal. There are two tribes, Dukar Kōlhāṭīs and Kam or Pāl Kōlhāṭīs. The former are a non-wandering criminal tribe, whereas the latter are a non-wandering criminal class. Depraved in morals, the males of both tribes subsist to a great extent on the prostitution of some of their females, though let it be said to the credit of the former that they are not so bad as the latter. They labour for themselves by cultivating land, by taking service as village watchmen, or by hiring themselves to villages to destroy that pest of Indian farmers, the wild dog, and above all they are professional robbers. Kam Kōlhāṭīs, on the other hand, are a lazy, good-for-nothing class of men who, beyond making a few combs and shuttles of bone, will set their hands to no class of labour, but subsist mainly by the immoral pursuits of their women.'

At the last Census of 1911 Kōlhāṭīs were returned only from the Hyderabad State

Number. where they were said to be 1,143 in number. The returns of the Census of 1901 were much fuller, and were as follows:—

Bombay Presidency—

Bombay Town	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	123
Thana	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	76
Ahmednagar	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	588
Khandesh	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	435
Nasik	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	383
Poona	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	384
Satara	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	334
Sholapur	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	187
Carried over	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,510

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, xii, 123f.

² *Bombay Gazetteer*, xx, 18f.

³ *Criminal Tribes*, p. 46ff.

Bombay Presidency—*contd.*

Brought forward	2,510
Akalkot	85
Bhor	7
Satara Agency	19
Belgaum	409
Bijapur	148
Dharwar	380
Kanara	15
Kolaba	306
Ratnagiri	2
Kolhapur	270
Southern Maratha Country	473
Sawantwadi	57

TOTAL BOMBAY PRESIDENCY 4,681

Berar—

Amraoti	88
Akola	638
Ellichpur	164
Buldana	281
Wun	97
Basim	57

TOTAL BERAR 1,325

Hyderabad—

Gulbargah	1,649
Naldurg	3,022
Hyderabad	67
Nander	88
Sirpur Tandur	491
Parbhani	75
Bhir	229
Aurangabad	385
Indur	1

TOTAL HYDERABAD 6,007

GRAND TOTAL 12,013

Specimens of a dialect called Kōlhāṭī have been forwarded from Berar and also from the Chanda District of the Central Provinces. They all agree in so many particulars that we are justified in talking of a Kōlhāṭī dialect, and there is no reason for supposing that the Kōlhāṭīs of the Bombay Presidency use a different form of speech. During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Kōlhāṭī was returned from the following districts :—

Bombay Presidency—

Ahmednagar	700
Poona	350
Satara	150

1,200 1,200

Berar—

Amraoti	127
Akola	640
Ellichpur	200
Buldana	150

1,117 1,117

Central Provinces—

Chanda	50	50
	TOTAL	<u>2,367</u>

Authority. A Kōlhāṭī vocabulary has been published in the following work :—

BALFOUR, EDWARD,—*On the Migratory Tribes of Natives in Central India. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. xiii, Part i, 1844, pp. 1 and ff. Note on the "Bhatoos" on p. 12; vocabulary, pp. 17 and f.

Mr. Balfour states that the names of the tribe are Bhadoo, Doomur or Kollati.

Dialect. Bhadoo is identical with the Sāsī word *bhattū*, a Sāsī man.

The corresponding Kōlhāṭī feminine *bhatānī* means 'wife' and is identical with Sāsī *bhatānī*, a Sāsī woman. It is tempting to infer a closer relationship between Kōlhāṭī and Sāsī from this, and indeed, an examination of Kōlhāṭī shows that it is a dialect of the same kind as Sāsī and connected forms of speech. With regard to phonology we may here note the frequency with which consonants are doubled, while the preceding vowel often is long or half long; thus, *ēkka*, one; *rakkh*, keep; *khōggā*, house; *ruṭṭī*, bread; *uṭṭhī*, having arisen; *gāḍḍhī*, having taken out; *sāṭṭa*, seven; *baddhē*, were bound; *rāṇna*, ear; *khumma*, mouth; *bhallā*, much. Other phonetical features are of less significance. Such are the occasional change of *ch* to *s* in the Ellichpur specimens; compare *kharsī*, spent; the change of *ḷ* to *y* in Akola, a common occurrence in the current Marāṭhī of the district; compare *rāy*=*kāl*, famine; *muyē* and *mudē*, on account of. The interchange of hard and soft sounds in words such as *ap-sī*, from now; *gāḍḍhī*, having taken out, but *kaḍḍ*, draw, in the Akola specimens may also prove of interest.

The inflexional system is mainly the same as in Pañjābī-Sāsī. We may note the frequent *ā*-termination of the oblique form of masculine bases ending in *ī* or a consonant, and of feminines, an important point of agreement with Sāsī; compare *khētā-mē*, in the field; *ārōpiyā-ṭhō*, near the accused; *bhatānīyā-nē*, by the wife. In Akola we find the Gujarāṭī termination *ō* in forms such as *bāpō*, fathers; *khōggō-mē-sī*, from in the house; *kachēriō-mē*, in court.

The case terminations are broadly the same as in Hindōstānī, viz.:—case of the agent *-nē*; dative *-ku*, *-kō*; ablative *-sē*, *-sī*; genitive *-kā*, *kī*, *kē*, *kīā*; locative *-mē*.

With regard to pronouns we may note *hū*, I; *ham*, we, in Akola. In Buldana, Ellichpur and Chanda, we find *mē*, *mī*, I; compare Marāṭhī. In Ellichpur we also find the form *mērē-ku*, to me, which was also used in the Bēldārī of the same neighbourhood. Note also forms such as *jābō*, then, in Akola, which remind us of Rājasthānī.

The conjugation of verbs is mainly the same as in Pañjābī and Sāsī. In the Akola specimens forms such as *kahēngḍā*, said, are translated as past tenses. In the list of words, however, we find *hōngḍā*, I shall be; compare the Sāsī future suffix *grā*. The future of *mārnā*, to beat, is stated to be *māraṅg* throughout all persons and numbers in Akola. In Ellichpur we find future forms such as *jānēgā*, I shall go; *ballēgā*, I shall say.

The general character of Kōlhāṭī will be seen from the beginning of a version of the Parable which follows. It has been forwarded from Ellichpur.

[No. 22.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KŌLHĀTĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT ELLICHPUR.

Yakkī mankhā-ku dō chhōrē huvē. Dōnō-mē-kā nhannā bappā-ku
One man-to two sons were. Both-in-of younger father-to
 balyā, 'bappa, jē jingī-kā baṭṭā hai, sē mērē-ku dē.' Majē
said, 'father, which property-of share is, that me-to give.' Then
 un-nō jingī baṭṭi dī. Majē thōḍē dinā-sē nhannā
him-by property dividing was-given. Then few days-after younger
 chhōrā sagal gōlā karī mulkhā-war gayā. Aplē jingī
son all together having-made country-to went. Own property
 mastiyē-sī udāi dīi, kharsī sari gaī. Us mulkhā-mē
debauchery-in wasting was-given, spent all went. That country-in
 badā kāl padyā, u-saṭṭi us-ku aḍchan paḍi. Us waktā-kō us
big famine fell, that-for him-to distress fell. That time-at that
 mulkā-sī yakkī mankhā thānē jāi rahyā; unē āpnē
country-of one man near having-gone stayed; him-by own
 khētā-mē taṇḍē charāwnē bhējī diyā. Ō tāṇḍē kōṇḍā
fields-in pigs to-tend having-sent he-was-given. Those swine husks
 khātē thiyē, ō khāi pēṭ bharnō aisā us-ku
eating were, those having-eaten belly should-be-filled thus him-to
 bāṭyā; us-ku kinē kāi diyā nai. Majē ō
it-appeared; him-to by-anyone anything was-given not. Then he
 sudī-mē āisanē balyā, 'mērē bappā-kē gharā-ku mankhā-ku ruṭṭi pēṭ
sense-in having-come said, 'my father-of house-at men-to bread belly
 bharī milti; mī bhukkā martā. Mī uṭṭhi mērē bappā-kōnē
filling is-got; I starving die. I having-arisen my father-near
 jānēga, us-ku ballēgā, "ē happā, bindē-kē irud an tērē
will-go, him-to will-say, "O father, heaven-of against and of-thee
 āga mi-nī pāp karyā. Abthunā-sī mī tērā bēṭā kaynē-kē lāik
before me-by sin was-done. Now-from I thy son saying-of worthy
 nai. Aplē chākriyē-kē gaḍiyē-wānī mērē-ku rakḥa." ' Majē uṭyā,
not. Own service-of labourer-like me keep." ' Then arose,
 uṭṭi bappā-kunē gayā.
having-arisen father-near went.

The few Kōlhātīs of Chanda use a similar form of speech. The usual past tense of verbs, however, more closely agrees with Hindōstānī; compare *bōlā*, said; *lagā*, began. Other details will be ascertained from the version of a well-known tale which follows.

[No. 23.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KOLHĀṬĪ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT CHANDA.

Ekka ādmiya-ku dō nhanē laḍkē thiya, ēk chhōrā an ēk chhōrī.
One man-to two small children were, one boy and one girl.

Chhōrā thiya, wō muwā-mē baḍā bāṅglā thiya, chhōrī aisi-ch thiya.
Boy was, he face-in very handsome was, girl common was.

Ekka din wō dō-jhanē chhōrē ainē-kē najik khēltē thiya. Chhōrā
One day those two-people children glass-of near playing were. Boy

chhōriya-ku hōltā, 'aya, yē ainē-mē dikka bhalā nikkī kōn disti
girl-to says, 'O, this glass-in see well good who is-appearing
ki.' Chhōriya-ku wō nikkā nahī lagā. Us-kō samjhā
what.' Girl-to that good not appeared. Her-to it-was-thought
kī is-nē yē āplyā-ku hināwnē-ku bōlā. Pichhē unē
that this-by this herself lowering-for was-said. Afterwards her-by

bappā-kē najik bhayya-kē gārhanē bōllē. Wō bōlī, 'bappā,
father-of near brother-of complaints were-said. She said, 'father,
kōynē-mē khum dikhi khushī pānā, yē bāykā-kā kām; us-mē
glass-in face seeing satisfaction to-get, this women-of work; that-in

ādmiya-nē man ghālnā nahī.' Bappā-ne dō-jhanē-kō pētā-sī pākaḍī
man-by mind to-be-put not.' Father-by both breast-to clasping
us-kō khushī kiya. Wō bōlā, 'chhōrēnō; tum laḍhu na-kō.
her-to satisfaction was-made. He said, 'children, you fight not-should.

Ajā-sī tum dō-jhanē-bhī dinā-ma ainē-mē dēkhtē jā.
To-day-from you both-even day-in glass-in seeing go.'

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A man had two small children, a son and a daughter. The boy was very good looking, the girl was of indifferent beauty. One day the two children were playing near the looking-glass. The boy said to the girl, 'come, let us look in the glass to see who is the prettiest.' This did not please the girl. She thought that he did it in order to humiliate her. Then she went to her father and complained of the boy. She said, 'to derive pleasure from looking at one's face in a glass is the business of women; a man should not put his mind on such things.' The father clasped both to his bosom, satisfied her and said, 'children, don't quarrel. I should like both of you to look into the glass every day.'

The word *kōynē-mē*, in the glass, in the Chanda specimen, where a *k* has been added in front of the word *ainē-mē*, reminds us of various methods

Argot.

of disguising words in Criminal Sāsī and similar argots.

The specimens received from Akola show that the Kōlhātīs know the use of an artificial language of the same kind. There are in the first place some peculiar words such as *kājjī*, woman; *khōggā*, house; *khūm*, mouth, face; *chēnī*, water; *tummī*, head; *ṭaunā*, fall; *thāy*, beat; *ṭiwā*, rupee; *thōknā*, sit; *dutta*, eat; *dhēḍ*, a Mahār (lit. a huge, burly, person); *bhatānī*, wife; *hēṭṭī*, women, and so on. Common words are moreover disguised in various ways, as in other argots.

A consonant is often prefixed or substituted for the initial. Gutturals are used in this way in words such as *kajēṭā*=*bēṭā*, child; *kōkkha*=*ākḥ*, eye; *kōdmī*=*ādmī*, man; *kōhōt*=*hāth*, hand; *khūt*=*ūth*, camel; *khanākka*=*nāk*, nose; *khanajik*=*najik*, near; *khumbar*=*umar*, age; *khōran*=*haran*, deer, and so forth. It should be noted that after *k*, *kh*, an *a*-sound is often replaced by an *o*-sound, just as is the case in Sāsī.

As in Sāsī and similar argots a palatal is often used as a substitute for a labial. Thus, *chaḍā*=*baḍā*, big; *chhut*=*bhūt*, devil; (*ka*)*jēṭā*=*bēṭā*, boy; *jōhōt*=*bahut*, much.

Th and *ḍh* are prefixed in words such as *thamāl*, property; *thamarnā*, to die; *ḍhōkkal*, a dog.

Of dentals we find *th* in *thēr*, three, and *dh* in *dhōr*, two. Moreover *n* is a common substitute; thus, *nān*=*chād*, moon; *nyār*=*chār*, four; *nōr*=*chōr*, thief; *nāt*=*jāt*, caste; *nīb*=*jībḥ*, tongue; *nāṭṭa*=*dāt*, tooth; *nusrā*=*dusrā*, other; *nēṭ*=*pēṭ*, belly; *nāch*=*pāch*, five; *nōkkaḍ*=*bōkaḍ*, goat; *nihē*=*liyē*, for the sake of. This *n* is sometimes aspirated, when it has been substituted for an aspirate or *s*; thus, *nhēt*=*khēt*, field; *nhāḍ*=*ḍghāḍ*, tree; *nhāmē*=*sāmnē*, before; *nhuriyā*=*suriyā*, sun.

B is prefixed in words such as *bēk*, one; *bua*, him; *bēṭhē-sī*, from here. It replaces an old initial in words such as *bōrā*=*chhōrā*, boy; *bannagar*=*dhangar*, shepherd; *bōnnā*=*sōnā*, gold.

R is apparently only used instead of an initial guttural; thus, *ris-kā*, whose? *rēṭṭī*, how much? *rānna*=*kān*, ear; *rāy*=*gāy*, cow; *rāw*=*gāw*, village; *rhup*=*khūb*, well; *rhōḍā*=*ghōḍā*, horse; *rhālō*=*ghālō*, put.

Sometimes also words are disguised by means of additions at the end. Thus *gh* has been added in *gōghā*, went; *rōghyā*, stayed; a palatal has been suffixed in *bānchī*, sister; *nanchhā*, small; *nāwchhā*, name; *hōchchē*, is, etc. Other additions are *tā* in *bāptā*, father; *bhāwtā*, brother; *p* in *dēppa*, give; *lyēp*, take; *r* in *dhōr*, two; *w* in *āwtā*, comes; *s* and *sar* in *jāssa*, go; *āsartā*, comes, and so forth.

Further details will be ascertained by studying the specimens which follow. The first is the beginning of a version of the Parable; the second is the deposition of a witness. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 179ff.

[No. 24.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

CRIMINAL KŌLHĀTĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT AKOLA.

Kōi bēk kōdmī-kō dhōr bōrē hōchche. Bus-mē-kā nhannā
Some one man-to two sons were. Them-in-of younger
 bōrā bappā-ku kahēngdā, 'bappā, yō mērā thamālā-kā nāṭṭā mu-ku
son father-to said, 'father, this my property-of share me-to
 āsartā, wō mō-ku dēppō.' Jabō bus-nē bunh-kō nhampat nāṭī
comes, that me-to give.' Then him-by them-to property dividing
 dēppi. Jabō nhōdē dinā-sī nhansā bōrā sab namā
was-given. Then few days-from small son all together
 kariknāi dūr nēsā-mē gōghā, ani wōthē khudādēpanā-sī
having-made far country-in went, and there riotousness-with
 lyā ani khāplī nhampat khudāi dēppi. Jabō bus-nē
was-taken and own property having-wasted was-given. Then him-by
 sab rharchē-par bus mulkhā-mē chadā rāy ṭawyā, bus-muyē
all spent-after that country-in big famine fell, that-on-account-of
 bus-ku khadchan ṭavī. Jad ō bus nēsā-mē-kā bēkkā rarasthā-kē
him-to difficulty fell. Then he that country-in-of one man-of
 khanajik jāik rōghyā. Bun-nē bus-ku khāplē nhētā-mē nhūr
near having-gone stayed. Him-by him own field-in swine
 narāwnē naṭhāyā. Jad sūr jō narphal khātā thiyā bus-par
to-feed was-sent. Then swine which husks eating were those-on
 khāplā pēt bharnā ēsā bus-kē nilā-mē āyā ; ākhin
own belly should-be-filled thus his heart-in came ; and
 kin-nē bus-ku kāhī dippā nāhī. Jad ō nhudī-par
anybody-by him-to anything was-given not. Then he sense-on
 āiknāhī kahēngdā, 'mērē bappā-kē ēthē ritēk nhāldārā-ku
having-come said, 'my father-of with how-many servants-to
 nhar-pūr rōṭṭī miltī, ākhin hū bhukkā-sī thamartā.
belly-full bread is-got, and I hunger-from am-dying.'
 Utṭhi khāplē bappā-kē baṅg jāngdā wa bus-kē kēhē, 'nō
Having-arisen own father-of near went and him-to said, 'O
 bāptē, mē-nē nēwā-kē khirdi wa tērē nhāmnē nāp karyā
father, me-by God-of against and of-thee before sin done

hē. Ap-si tērā chhōrā kēhēnē-kē hū lāyak nāhī.
is. Now-from thy son saying-of I worthy not.

Narantu bappā-nē khāplē nakrā-ku kahyā, 'śābut rapdā
But father-by own servants-to it-was-said, 'good cloth

lāi bus-ku rhallō ; ākhin bus-kē kōhōtā-mē khāngōṭi wō
having-taken him-to put ; and his hand-on ring and

gōtē-mē jōḍvē rhallō. Jab āpun khāi nēṇ karaṅ.
foot-on shoes put. Then we having-eaten merry shall-make.

Kāran yō mērā chhōrā mari gayā thiyā, ō phiriknāi
Because this my son having-died gone was, he again

jiwṭā huwā ; wō jattā rhiyā thiyā, ō milyā.' Jab
living became ; he lost remaining was, he was-found.' Then

ō harikh karhi rihē.
they merriment making were.

[No. 25.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

CRIMINAL KŌLHĀṬĪ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT AKOLA.

Jānu walad Hari, nāt Kōlhāṭī, khumbar baras tis, bastī
Jānu son-of Hari, caste Kōlhāṭī, age years thirty, residence
 Kāndī, nēwā-kī ān līi kēhētā kē ājmās pandhrā din huē
Kāndī, God-of oath having-taken I-say that nearly fifteen days become
 hōngē, rōj śukarwār dīn rātī hū wō bhatānī ān dhōr chhōrē
may-be, day Friday day at-night I and wife and two children
 ittē khōggē-mē suktē thiē. Jab dhōr pēhērā-kē rātī-kē
so-many house-in sleeping were. Then two watch-of night-of
 sumbārā-mē mērē bhatānīyā-nē mu-ku jāgī karyā ākhin kihi
approximation-in my wife-by me awakening was-made and saying
 rihi kē, 'khōggē-mē bhāṇḍē bajī rihīpē, ākhin kōdmī-kā chāhāy
she-was that, 'house-in pots sounding are, and man-of noise
 āwtā hē, jab uṭh.' Bus-par-sē hū uṭhyā ākhin bhitī-kē baṅg
coming is, then rise.' That-on-from I rose and wall-of near
 dēkhyā. Jabī bhōk mu-ku dikhyā. Bus-par-sē mu-ku khās
it-was-seen. Then hole me-to was-seen. That-on-from me-to certainly
 wāṭyā kē kōi-tō-bī khōggā phōḍī māhāy ghusyā hē.
it-appeared that somebody house having-broken inside entered is.
 Khōggā-mē diwā nāhī thiyā. Mērē bichhāwnā-tanhē āngār-pēṭī thī.
House-in lamp not was. My bed-under match-box was.
 Mē-nē lagēch gāḍḍhī bus-kō pēṭāī. Ittē-mē yō ārōpī
Me-by at-once having-taken-out it was-lighted. This-much-in this accused
 bhitī-kē pādēl bhōkā-ṭhōk jāi-riyā. Bus-par mēri najar gayē-barōbar
wall-of made hole-near going-was. That-on my sight goes-immediately
 mē-nē bus-ku pakadyā, ākhin bus-kā kōhōt pakadyā. Bus-kō kēhēngḍā
me-by him-to was-seized, and him-of hand was-seized. Him-to I-said
 kē, 'arē nōrā, kaṭṭhē chalyā?' Bus-par-sī bus-kī ān mēri
that, 'O thief, where moved?' That-on-from him-of and of-me
 jhōmbājhōmbī khub huī, wō mē-nē khōggō-mē-sī kalhā karyā.
struggling much became, and me-by house-in-from noise was-made.

Bus-par-sī khōggē-kē śējārī-lōk Sitārām wō Iṭhōbā ēsē āyē.
That-on-from house-of neighbours Sitārām and Iṭhōbā these came.

Ittē-mē mērē bhatāniyā-nē diwā lagāyā, ākhin khōggē-kē māhāy-ki
This-much-in my wife-by lamp was-lighted, and house-of inside-of
 sakkayī gāddhī, wō uprē jō isam likhyē vē māhāy
chains were-taken-off, and above which persons were-written those inside
 āyē. Jab mu-ku bhallā jōr āyā; jab is ārōpiyā-ṭhō
came. Then me-to much strength came; then this accused-near

dēkhyē, tō pāch khanna nikyē. Vē khanna thērā ṭivē
it-was-seen, then five bodices came-out. Those bodices three rupees
 kimatī-kē hē. Vē mērē hē, bhatāniyā-kē gaṭhōdē-mē thiyē. Ō
worth-of are. They mine are, wife-of cloth-bundle-in were. That

gaṭhōdā chakkiyā-ṭhōkē utyaniyā-ṭhō thiyā. Is-kē śiwāi nusrā
bundle grinding-stone-near-of jar-pile-near was. This-of excepting other
 māl gayā nāhī. Ham-nē thērā-nē bus-kē kōhōt baddhē, ākhin
property went not. Us-by three-by him-of hands were-bound, and

lagēch paṭelā-kē baṅg lii gayē, wō hui bakikat paṭelā-kō
at-once Paṭel-of near having-taken went, and happened account Paṭel-to
 kahī. Bus-par-sī paṭelā-nē chaukidārā-kē wō dhēdā-kē tābē-mē
was-told. That-on-from Paṭel-by watchman-of and mahār-of custody-in

ārōpi-ku diyā, ākhin sabērē-kē pēhēr pōlis ṭhēsan Bārsī-Ṭakliyā-ku
the-accused-to was-given, and morning-of time police station Barsi-Takli-to
 paṭhāyā. Ārōpi kis rāw-kā hē, bus-kē nāwchhā kyā hē, yō
he-was-sent. The-accused which village-of is, his name what is, this

mu-ku mālum nāhī, kāran-kē ō hamārē rāwā-kā nāhī. Diwā lagāwnē-kē
me-to known not, because he our village-of not. Lamp lighting-of

nihē mē-nē aṅgār-pēṭī-kī kāḍī ōdhī. Ittē-mē ō ārōpi
in-order me-by match-box-of stick was-rubbed. This-much-in that accused

bhōkkā-kē khanajik dikhānā. Bus-muḍē mu-ku diwā lagāwtā
hole-of near appeared. That-on-account-of me-to lamp being-lighted

āyā nāhī. Bhitī-kē pādēl bhōkkā-mē-sī kōdmī-ku adchan-mē-sī jānā.
came not. Wall-of broken hole-in-from man-to difficulty-in-from to-go

āwnā āwtā. Kachērīō-mē huwā khidā jis khidē-sē bhitī-ku bhōk
to-come comes. Court-in become nail which nail-by wall-to hole

pādyā, ō mu-ku bhōkā-kē najikā-kē nhāwniyā-mē milyā.
was-split, that me-to hole-of near-of bathroom-in was-found.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

I, Jānu, son of Hari, a Kōlhāṭī by caste, aged thirty, a resident of Kandi, state on oath that, about a fortnight ago, on a Friday night, I and my wife and two children were sleeping in the house. At midnight my wife roused me and said, 'there is a rattling of pots in the house, and footsteps are heard, therefore get up.' Then I got up and on looking towards the wall I saw a hole in it. I then understood that somebody must have broken into the house. There was no light in the house, but there was a match-box beneath my bed. I immediately got hold of it and lighted a match. Then this very accused began to move towards the hole made in the wall. As soon as I saw him, I caught hold of him and holding him by the hand said to him, 'Ah thief, where are you off for?' Then there was a great struggle between him and me, and I cried out loudly from within the house. Thereupon my neighbours Sitārām and Iṭhōbā came. In the meantime my wife lighted a lamp and unchained the door from within, and the persons just noted stepped into the house. Then I felt much strength. When the accused was searched five pieces of bodice-cloth were found on him. They are worth three rupees. They are mine and were in the bundle of my wife, which was near the jar-pile by the grinding stone. Nothing besides this is lost. We three bound the hands of the accused and immediately took him to the Paṭēl and informed him of what had happened. The Paṭēl gave the accused in charge of a chaukidār and a mahār and in the morning sent him to the police station at Barsi Takli. I do not know from what village the accused is or what his name is, for he does not belong to our village. I struck a match to light the lamp, and then I saw the accused at the hole. Therefore I could not light the lamp. A man can with difficulty go in and out of the hole made in the wall. The iron spike before the Court, with which the wall was bored, was found by me in the bath-room near the hole.

GĀRŌḌĪ.

The Gārōḍis are a wandering tribe of jugglers in the Belgaum District. Their head-quarters are said to be at Miraj near Kolhapur. They are said to have been converted to Muhammadanism about the middle of the sixteenth century, and are looked upon as belonging to the Madāri sect. According to the Bombay Gazetteer,¹ 'the men are middle-sized, sturdy, and dark or olive . . . The women, who like the men are middle-sized, are thin, well-featured, and dark or olive . . . The men are jugglers, tumblers, and snake-charmers. They are hard-working, but are much given to intoxicating drinks and drugs and are poorly clad and scrimped for food . . . Except circumcising their boys they keep no Musalman customs, and are Muhammadans in little more than name.'

The name Gārōḍī or Gārūḍī is derived from *gārūḍa*, a snake-charmer. I have no information as to the number of Gārōḍis in Belgaum.

Two specimens and a list of Standard Words and Sentences have been received from Belgaum as illustrating the dialect of the Gārōḍis. It is a rather inconsistent form of speech, and it seems probable that several of the forms registered in the list are incorrect. Thus the future *lugāwungō*, shall beat, is stated to be used in both numbers. In the specimens, however, we find *hapelwingā*, let us become. This latter form most closely agrees with Eastern Rājasthānī. On the whole it will be seen that Gārōḍī is based on a mixture of Hindōstānī, Rājasthānī and Marāṭhī. Thus the nominative of strong masculine bases ends in *ō* in the singular as in Rājasthānī and Gujarātī, though we also find *rēmṇā*, goat, as in Hindōstānī. The plural and the oblique base end in *ē* as in Hindōstānī; compare *lāwḍē* (but also *lāwḍō*), sons; *bhāwutē-kū*, to a father. The genitive ends in *kō* as in Rājasthānī. Before an inflected masculine noun we also find *kā*. In the periphrastic present we find *lugū hū*, I am dying, as in Mēwātī, Mālvi, and Mēwārī. The past tense of the verb substantive is *chhō* as in Jaipurī; Marāṭhī forms are *mī*, I; *lāwḍē*, a child; the common emphatic *ch*, and so on. In addition to all these elements there is also an admixture of Dravidian. It is seen in some words such as *iṅgā*, here; *uṅgā*, there; *nīrmā*, water; *nānd*, house, village, etc., in the frequent use of adverbial and relative participles such as *hāyilētō*, when coming; *hāyilandē*, coming; *bētēsō*, eaten, and so forth.

It would, however, be useless to go into further details. The mixed nature of the dialect will be sufficiently apparent from the specimens.

Like other Gipsy tribes the Gārōḍis try to make their speech unintelligible by using strange words or else by disguising ordinary words in various ways. Some of the unusual words found in the specimens are *aldī*, whip; *bēt*, eat; *bōngā*, gold; *chisam*, good; *chōnō*, name; *ḍhamuklō*, belly; *ḍhikmō*, slave; *ḍharālī*, iron; *dhāyṭī*, property; *ḍḥalwātṇī*, harlot; *ḍḥāmī*, midnight; *ḍḥangī*, a bulbous root; *gōnō*, hand; *gōnālī*, foot; *ghurukṇā*, swine; *jachan*, diagnose; *kājā*, man; *kanēchī*, eye (cf. Tamil *kaṇa*); *khōmḍā*, mouth; *kāwsō*, bull; *kāyḷī*, ailment; *lug*, die; *lugā*, beat; *mallā*, garden; *nimal*, run, loose; *nānd*, house, village; *nāṭhyā*, wife; *nīrmā*, water; *panēchī*, back (cf.

¹ Vol. xxi, pp. 224 & f.

Kanarese *bennu*); *tabēt*, health; *ṭap*, fall; *ṭōk*, say; *ṭōlchō*, head (cf. Kanarese *tale*); *ṭhig*, sit; *walā*, give, and so on.

Ordinary words are sometimes disguised by means of a simple transposition of the letters; thus, *ḍabō*, big; and perhaps *ṭap*, fall. Occasionally we find aspiration or disaspiration of consonants; thus, *ghāyilē*, they went; *lhailkanā*, having taken; *nākyō*, threw.

In many cases a consonant has been prefixed or substituted for the initial of a word. *Kh* is used in this way in words such as *khadmī*, man; *khūpar*, above; *khut-kō*, having arisen; *khōyid*=*baid*, doctor. In *gāndilō*, silver, *g* is similarly used instead of *ch*, and in *rēmnā*, goat, *r* for *m*.

Ch is, as in many similar argots, used instead of *b* in words such as *chulāwou*, to call; *chōlñi*, word, state. Note *chirwānd*, bind. In *jilāṭi*, oat, *j* has been used in a similar way, cf. *bilāḍi*. *Dzh* is a more common substitute; compare *ḍzhichāḍi*, behind; *ḍzhukāyit*=*bhūkh*, hunger; *ḍzhāil-kanā*, having gone; *ḍzhappli*, shoe, sandal; *ḍzhupār*, afternoon (cf. *dō pahār*), and so on. A *t* has been substituted for a *p* in *ṭikad*, seize. The initial *ḍh* in *ḍhamuklō*, belly; *ḍhikmō*, slave, is probably of the same kind. The syllable *tur* in *turwālē*, hair, is apparently also an addition made in order to disguise the word, or else it may be a disguised *sir*, head. Other consonants used in a similar way are *n* in *nētyā-kū*, to the fields; *l* in *lipaḍā*, cloths; and, cockney way, *h* in *hāyil*, come; *hunṭ*, camel.

Another way of disguising words is by means of additions at the end. Such additions are,—

k in *bhēkdā*, brother; and *g* in *bōngā*, gold; compare, however, Kanarese *baṅgāra*;

ch in *kanēchī*, eye; *kānēchī*, ear; *chandīchī*, moon; *bhanichī*, sister; *nhanchō*, small, etc.;

ṭ in *ghōrṭō*, horse; *ḍ* in *khagāḍi*, before; *khōmḍā*, mouth; *dāḍwā*, tooth; *bhēkdā*, brother, etc.;

t in *ḍzhukāyit*, hunger;

p in *rhapēlyō*, was; *hapē-nā*, am not;

m in *ek-mū*, one; *dul-mū*, two; *kitmū*, how many? *bhutmū*, devil; *dēmā*, god; *tōḍmē*, I broke; *thudmē*, few; *karmel*, do; *sunmel-kā*, having heard, etc.

l in *karēlyō*, did; *karmel*, do; *ghalel*, put; *ghāyilē*, went; *chalēlē*, went; *jagāyilyo*, waked; *ḍzhāyil*, go; *baṭal-kā*, dividing; *rakellē*, keep; *sunel-hāyilyō*, hearing came, was heard; *sunnel-kā*, having heard; *hāyilyō*, came; *dulmū*, two, and so forth. Similarly we find *l* in words such as *nachlan*, dancing; *mōklō*, relief.

Finally we find *s* added in *kharsā*, ass.

By means of all these additions the argot of the Gārōḍis gets a peculiar appearance. Further details will be ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, the second is an incomplete version of a well-known tale.] The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 179ff.

[No. 26.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

GĀRŌḌĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ekmū kajā-kū dulmū lāwdē chhō. Yē-kē mhayī nhanchō lāwdō
 One man-to two sons were. Them-of among younger son
 āplyō bhāwutē-kū tōkyō, 'bhāwutē, tērō dhāyti-mā-sī ma-kū hāyilandē
 own father-to said, 'father, thy property-in-from me-to coming
 bātō ma-kū walā.' Bhāwutō yē-kē mhayī āplyō dhāyti baṭal-kā
 share me-to give.' Father them-of among own property dividing
 walai. Nhanchō lāwdō āplyō bātō lhail-kanā dūr mulūk-kū
 gave. Younger son own share having-taken far country-to
 dzhāil-kanā bharkum din hoyilē-nā, ō-mā-ch wō dund hō-kanā
 having-gone many days became-not, that-in he riotous having-become
 āplyō dhāyti sab ghalā nākyō. Ō hē karēlētō wā
 own property all throwing was-lost. He so doing that
 mulūk-ma ḍabi dzhyānjli ṭap-kā ō-kū wanwās hāyilyō. Ō
 country-in big famine having-fallen him-to poverty became. He
 wā dēs-kā ekmū khadmī kan tsākri rhapēlyō; ē khadmī
 that country-of one man near in-service remained; that man
 ō-kū ghuruknā charāṇē-kū nētyā-kū lagā-dhailyō. Ungā dzhukāyit-sī
 him swine feeding-for fields-to was-sent. There hunger-from
 kalmal hōyil-kan ghuruknā bētēsō bhussō bī bēt-kō
 exhausted having-become swine eaten husks even having-eaten
 dhamuklō bharlē-chhō, lēkhin ō-kū koyī-kan-sī kuji-ch milēchh-nā.
 belly filling-was, but him-to anybody-from anything-even was-got-not.
 Aīsē thudmē din ghayilē, āplyō dzhichali chōṇī yād hō-kanā
 So few days passed, own former state memory having-become
 ō āplyō man-ma tōkyō, 'mērē bhāwutē-kanā chhōtō kitmū
 he own mind-in said, 'my father-near being how-many
 tsākriwālā-kū dhamuklā bhar-kā jāstī bētnī mil-chhī; mī-tō-
 servants-to bellies having-filled more food got-is; I-on-the-other-
 bī ingā dzhukāyit-sī lugū-hū. Mī khuṭ-kō-nā mērō bhāwutē-kanā
 hand here hunger-from dying-am. I having-arisen my father-near
 dzhāyil-kē tōkyō, "bhāwutē, mī dēmā-kā pāp bhāwutē-kā pāp
 having-gone said, "father, by-me God-of sin father-of sin

chirwānd-kā liyō. Mī tērō lāwdō kar-kō tōknē-kū chisam
having-tied was-taken. I thy son having-said saying-for fit
 hape-nā. Ma-kū tērē-kanā ekmū naukār-wānī rakhel-lē." " Asō
am-not. Me of-thee-near one servant-like keep." " So
 tōk-kanā ungā-sī khuṭ-kanā āplyō bhāwutē-kanā hāyilyōtō bhāwutō
having-said there-from having-arisen own father-near came-when father
 dūr-sī ō-kū charch-kanā mayā hāyil-kanā nimal-kā dzhāyil-kanā
far-from him having-seen pity having-come having-run having-gone
 tikaḍ-kanā chummī wolāyō. Tab lāwdō bhāwutē-kū tōkyō,
having-embraced kiss was-given. Then son father-to said,
 'bhāwutē, mī tērē khagāḍī dēmā-kē khagāḍī chūk karēlyō. Tū
'father, by-me of-thee before God-of before sin was-done. Thou
 ma-kū tērō lāwdō kar-kā chulāwu hape-nā.' Ō-kī bhāwutō
me thy son having-made to-call is-not.' This-to father
 āplyō naukār-kū tōkyō, 'chisam lipadā lhāyil-kanā mērē lāwdē-kū walāw;
own servants-to said, 'best robe having-taken my son-to give;
 gōnē-ma khaṅṭī ghalel, gōnāli-ma dzhayapli ghalel; bētnī tayāri
finger-on ring put, feet-on shoes put; dinner preparation
 karmel; ham bēt-kanā khuṣī hapelungā; kaikētō yē mērō lāwdō
make; we having-eaten merry shall-become; because this my son
 lug ghailyō chhō, phir-kanā dam hāyilyō; nimal ghailyō chhō-sō,
dead gone was, again life came; lost gone being,
 milyō.' Yō sunel-kanā sab khadmī khuṣī hapellyō.
was-found.' This having-heard all men glad became.

Yā bakhat-kū ō-kē ḍabō lāwdō nētyā-ma chhō. Ō nānd-kanā
This time his elder son field-in was. He house-near
 hāyilētō ō-kū gīd haur nachlan sunel hāyilyō. Ō
coming-when him-to song and dancing to-hear came. He
 tsākriwālē-ma ekmū-kū chulā-kan, 'yō kē hapel?' āsē tōkyō,
servants-among one-to having-called, 'this what is?' so said.
 Ō-kū wa-nā tōkyō, 'tērō bhēkdā hāyilyō hāyi, ē chisam-sī
Him-to him-by it-was-said, 'thy brother come is, he well
 hāyilē kar-kā tērē bhāwutē-nā bētnī karēli hāyi.' Itmu
came having-said thy father-by dinner made is.' This
 sunel-kanā wā ḍabā lāwdō ghusī-kū hāyil-kū mhayī ghailē-nā.
having-heard that elder son anger-to having-come inside went-not.
 Ō-kī wāstē ō-kē bhāwutē-nā bhāyir hāyil-kanā, 'mhayī-hāyil,'
That-of for-the-sake his father-by outside having-come, 'inside-come,'
 kar-kā ta-kū bharkum ajījī karēlyō. Ō-kī ō āplyō
having-said him-to much entreaty was-made. That-to he own

bhāwutē-kī tōkyō, 'mī itmū baras tak tērī tsākri karel-kanā
father-to said, 'I so-many years up-to thy service having-done
 tērī chōḷṇī kabī tōdmē-nā. Lēkhin mī mērō dōs-kū lhail-kanā
thy word ever broke-not. But I my friends having-taken
 bētnī karelnē-kē wāstē tū kabī ma-kū ekmū rēmnā-bī
dinner making-of for-the-sake thou ever me-to one kid-even
 walāy-nā. Dṛhalwātñī-kā saṅgat karel-kanā tērō dhāyṭī sab
gavest-not. Harlots-of company having-made thy property all
 . niṅgaḷ-liyōsō yō tērō lāwdō nānd-kū hāyilyō barābar tū ō-kē
decouring-taking this thy son house-to came immediately thou him-of
 wāstē bētnī karēlyō.' Bhāwutē-nā lāwdō-kē tōkyō, 'tū
for-the-sake dinner madest.' Father-by son-to it-was-said, 'thou
 har-gaḍī mērē saṅgat rhayelā; mērē-kan hapelāsō sab tērō-ch
all-time of-me in-company art; of-me-near being all thine-alone
 hāyil. Luggōsō tērō bhēkdā, phir-kā dam bharēlyō; nimal ghailyō
is. Dead-being thy brother, again life filled; lost gone
 cblhōsō, milēlyō. Aisō ham khuśī hōyilnē-kē chisam hapelā.
being, was-found. So we happy to-become good is.'

GÄRÖDĪ.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ajar	dzhāyilnē-kē	bhōlō	upāw.	Ekmū	nānd-ma	ekmū	dabō	
<i>Indigestion</i>	<i>going-of</i>	<i>simple</i>	<i>remedy.</i>	<i>One</i>	<i>town-in</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>big</i>	
kājā	chhō.	Ō	har-gaḍi	bharkum	bēt-kanā	ṭhigyāsō	jāgā-pa	ṭhigyō
<i>man</i>	<i>was.</i>	<i>He</i>	<i>every-time</i>	<i>much</i>	<i>having-eaten</i>	<i>sitting</i>	<i>place-in</i>	<i>sitting</i>
chhō.	Kōnsē-ch	tarā-sī	kaishṭ	ḱarel	chha-nā.	Ō-kī	wāstē	ō-kē
<i>was.</i>	<i>Any-even</i>	<i>kind-of</i>	<i>labour</i>	<i>doing</i>	<i>was-not.</i>	<i>That-of</i>	<i>for-the-sake</i>	<i>his</i>
aṅ-ma	kabi-tō	bī	sustī	hāyil-chhī.	Ekmū	din	ō	kājā
<i>body-in</i>	<i>sometimes</i>	<i>also</i>	<i>indisposition</i>	<i>coming-was.</i>	<i>One</i>	<i>day</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>man</i>
āpyō	dōs-kē	nānd-kū	bētnē-kū	ghailyō	chhō.	Uṅgā	bharkum	bēt-
<i>own</i>	<i>friend-of</i>	<i>house-to</i>	<i>eating-for</i>	<i>gone</i>	<i>was.</i>	<i>There</i>	<i>much</i>	<i>having-</i>
kanā	dzhāmī-tak	jagāyilyō.	Ō-kī	wāstē		sakāl	ō-kū	
<i>eaten</i>	<i>midnight-till</i>	<i>waked.</i>	<i>That-of</i>	<i>on-account</i>		<i>next-morning</i>	<i>him-to</i>	
bharkum	ajar	hō-gailī.	Ō	bakhat-kū	ō	tabēt	charch-kanā	hāyil
<i>great</i>	<i>indigestion</i>	<i>became.</i>	<i>That</i>	<i>time-at</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>health</i>	<i>having-examined</i>	<i>come</i>
kar-kā	gāḍi-kē	khūpar	chaḍ-kan	khōyid-kē	nānd-kū	ghailyō.		
<i>having-said</i>	<i>carriage-of</i>	<i>upon</i>	<i>having-mounted</i>	<i>doctor-of</i>	<i>village-to</i>	<i>went.</i>		
Khōyid-nā	ō-kē	gōnō	charch-kanā	kāyli-kī	jachan	karel-kanā		
<i>Doctor-by</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>hand</i>	<i>having-examined</i>	<i>disease-of</i>	<i>examination</i>	<i>having-made</i>		
ṭōkyō,	'bāwā,	iṅgā-sī	dulmū	kōs-pa	ekmū	mallē-ma	yā	kāyli-kū
<i>said,</i>	<i>'Sir,</i>	<i>here-from</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>kōs-in</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>garden-in</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>disease-for</i>
walānē-kī	dzhangī	hapelā.	Khuṣī-sē	ūṅgā-tak	hāyiltō	ō	khupaḍ-kan	
<i>giving-of</i>	<i>bulb</i>	<i>is.</i>	<i>Kindly</i>	<i>there-to</i>	<i>come-if</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>having-rooted-up</i>	
walañ.	Ō-kī	wāstē	dzhūpār-kē	mhayi	tērē	kāyli	dzhāyil-kē	
<i>I-may-give.</i>	<i>That-of</i>	<i>on-account</i>	<i>afternoon-of</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>thy</i>	<i>disease</i>	<i>having-gone</i>	
mōklō	hapēlaṅgō.'	Itmū	sunmel-kā	kājā-nā	ṭōkyō,	'mērō		
<i>relief</i>	<i>will-become.'</i>	<i>This-much</i>	<i>having-heard</i>	<i>man-by</i>	<i>it-was-said,</i>	<i>'my</i>		
gāḍi	tayār	hōyil-kā	rhapeli.	Hāyil,	ūṅgā-tak	dzhāyil-kanā		
<i>carriage</i>	<i>ready</i>	<i>having-become</i>	<i>stands.</i>	<i>Come,</i>	<i>there-to</i>	<i>having-gone</i>		
hāyilānā.'	Itmū	ṭōk-kanā,	ō	wā	khōyid-kē	barābar	gāḍi-ma	
<i>let-us-come.'</i>	<i>This-much</i>	<i>having-said,</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>doctor-of</i>	<i>with</i>	<i>carriage-on</i>	

chad-kan chalêlē. Nānd-kanā-si dūlmū kōs dzhāyil-kanā khōyid-nā
having-mounted went. House-near-from two kōs having-gone doctor-by
gōnē-mā-ki alđi hōnūkar-kā tanā nakhil diyō.
hand-in-of whip intentionally down throwing was-given.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A simple remedy for indigestion.

There lived in a town a rich man who always ate much and was given to sedentary habits. He took no kind of exercise, and therefore he now and then suffered from indisposition. One day he went to dine with a friend. He ate a lot and stayed up till midnight. Consequently he had a bad fit of indigestion the next morning. Therefore he drove over to the doctor's to have his disease diagnosed. The doctor felt his pulse, diagnosed his disease and said, 'in a garden about two *kōs* from here there is a bulbous root which is a specific for your disease. If you please, follow me there, and I shall have it dug out. Then your ailment will cease in the afternoon and you will get relief.' Hearing this the man said, 'my carriage is ready, come, let us go there.' After having said so he drove along in company with the doctor. When they had gone on about two *kōs* from the town, the doctor intentionally dropped the whip.

MYÄNWÄLE OR LHÄRĪ.

The word *Myānwālā* means a scabbard-maker. No information is available about the people who bear the name. Specimens of their dialect have been forwarded from the Belgaum District. The names given to this form of speech is *Myānwālē* or *Lhārī*. *Myānwālē* is simply the plural form of *Myānwālā*. *Lhārī* probably represents a rapid pronunciation of *Lōhārī*, the language of the *Lōhārs*. At the last Census of 1911, 817 *Lōhārs* were enumerated in Belgaum. It is not, however, probable that the so-called *Myānwālē* is the language of all the *Lōhārs*; it is probably only spoken by a small section.

The base of *Myānwālē* is *Dakhanī Hindōstānī* and *Rājasthānī-Gujarātī*. Thus, strong masculine bases end in *ō* in the singular as in the latter, and in *ē* in the plural as in the former. The distinction between singular and plural forms is, to judge from the conjugation, of little importance; compare *lōtūngō*, he will beat, they will beat. Forms such as *hitwādyā*, they went, show that the termination *ē* is not the only one in the plural of strong bases; the *Rājasthānī-Gujarātī* termination *ā* must be used as well. Of case terminations we may note dative *kū* as in *Mālvi* and *Dakhanī Hindōstānī*, genitive *kō* as in *Mālvi* or *kā* as in *Hindōstānī*; and locative *mē* as in *Mālvi* and *Hindōstānī*, or *mā*, cf. *Gujarātī mā*. There does not appear to exist a separate case of the agent, the nominative being used to denote the subject even if the verb is the past tense of a transitive.

"I" is *mē* as in *Bundēlī*, and "we" is *hamē*, cf. *Gujarātī amē*.

The conjugation of verbs does not appear to be correctly represented in the list of words, where we find forms such as *hū* for all persons and numbers of the present tense of the verb substantive and *lōtū* for the corresponding forms of *lōt-nā*, to beat. Forms such as *lug-nalō*, dying go, I die; *rhōkē*, thou art; *hōbrē*, is, show that the present tense is formed like the old present in *Mālvi*. The past tense ends in *ō* or *yō*; thus, *chōhōwādyō*, said; *lōtō*, struck. The future is formed as in *Hindōstānī* but with the singular ending in *gō* as in *Eastern Rājasthānī*; thus, *rhauṅgō*, I shall be; *hōbraṅgē*, we shall become. In the list of words forms such as *lōtūngō*, I shall beat, are used in all persons and numbers.

Other forms mainly agree with *Hindōstānī* and *Rājasthānī-Gujarātī*. Note the relative participle in *sō*, as in *dutōsō*, eaten; *hōbrēsō*, being; the use of *karke*, *karkō*, having done, corresponding to the Sanskrit *iti*; and the negative *jīn* in *chulāvē jīn*, do not call; for the last, compare *Kanaujī* and *Eastern Hindi*.

Myānwālē is, to judge from the specimens, an artificial argot built up on this base. There are some peculiar words such as *barawād*, come; *bēt*, take; *chhēgē*, preparation; *chhuman*, see; *chigīṭ*, run; *chāyī*, water; *chundaḍi*, ring; *ḍamōlō*, man; *ḍāmī*, woman; *dut*, eat; *gēlō*, *gelpō*, boy; *jukēlā*, dog; *kīchī*, fire; *khīch*, give; *khōk*, house; *lugānā*, to break; *lugīṭ*, die; *lōt*, strike; *nānd*, village; *nīrō*, good; *nōkaḍō*, name; *rhākḷō*, brother. Some of these such as the base *bara*, to come; *nānd*, village (*Kanarese nāḍu*), seem to be Dravidian. Others are comparable with similar words in other argots.

Ordinary Aryan words are, moreover, disguised in various ways so as to make them unintelligible to outsiders. Sometimes a vowel is changed or an aspirated consonant disaspirated; compare *pēsō*=*pās*, near; *nuchō*=*pūchhā*, asked; *ripchē*=*pīchhē*, behind. More commonly an initial consonant is changed or a consonant prefixed.

K is substituted in *hurṇā*, swine; compare *sūār*.

Kh has been prefixed in words such as *khādmī*, man; *khagāḍī*, before; *khāpnō*, own; *khutnē-mē*, in the meantime; *khēk*, one; *khidēw*, god; *khiraṇḍ*, harlot. In *khulke*, having said, it has replaced an old *b*, and so on.

A *g* has been substituted for other initials in *gipaḍā*=*kaprā*, clothes; and perhaps in *gēlō*, boy, cf. *bēṭā*.

As in similar argots *ch* and *chh* are often substituted for labials. Compare *chaḍḍō*=*barā*, big; *chōnd*=*bāndh*, tying; *chhil*=*bhar*, filling; *chhuk*=*bhūkh*, hunger; *chhurgā*=*murghā*, cock.

Dh is prefixed as in similar argots; compare *dhākō*=*kākā*, uncle; *dhimlē*=*milā*, was got; *dhunabī*=*kuṇbī*, a cultivator; *dhēlyā*, compare *bhērā*, a kid.

N is a very common substitute. It replaces a guttural in *nusāl*, merry; *narībī*, poverty; *nusā*, angry; a palatal in *nākar*, servant; *nūk*, sin; a dental in *nōs*, friend; a labial in *naḍ-ke*, falling; *nāp*, sin; *nir-ku*, again; *nirāw*, put on; *nirādē* (*firyādī*), complainant; *narābar*, immediately; *nāt*, state; *naras*, year; *nītar*, inside; *nan*, mind; an *h* in *nakhēkat*, facts. It has been substituted for an *s* in *nabalō*, all; compare *sab* and *sagla*. Instead of *s*, however, we more commonly find *nh*; thus, *nhankat*, difficulty; *nhun-ke*, hearing; *nhuriyā*, sun. *Nh* is also used as a substitute for aspirated consonants in *nhēt*, field; *nhūs*, chaff; *nhōknō*, small.

B has been substituted for *l* in *bētō*, took; and for *s* in *bunakke*, to be heard (note the Dravidian termination). A *b* has been replaced by an *m* in *māwutō*, father, probably under the influence of *māwutī*, mother.

R is also a common substitute, especially for labials; thus, *rikan*, ear; *rātō*, share; *rāl*, hair; *ripchē*=*pīchhē*, behind; *rhāklō*=*bhāī*, brother; *rhār*, outside. *Rhāklō*, brother, is, however, perhaps connected with the European Gipsy word *rāklō*, boy.

Another device of disguising words is by means of various additions at the end, which then often replace an old final.

Thus a *k* is added in *rhōkē*, art; *niskō*, head; and a *kn* in *nhōknō*=*chhōṭā*, small. If *rhāklō*, brother, is derived from *bhāī*, a *kl* has been added.

An additional *g* occurs in words such as *chōg*, four; *dūg*, far; *dōg*, two, and so on. A *ch* is used in a similar way in words such as *kīchō*, did; *ghōḍchō*, horse.

An addition *īṭ* is used in some intransitive verbs; thus, *chigīṭ*, run; *nukīṭō*, lost; *barīṭō*, came; *iugīṭō*, dead. A *ḍ* is added in *khagāḍī*, before. I may here add the suffixes *ōḍ* and *wāḍ* in verbal forms such as *natōḍ*, dividing; *rakhōḍ*, keeping; *ghalōḍ*, put; *barawāḍī*, she came; *rhōkwāḍō*, stayed; *hiṭwāḍyā*, they passed.

A *t* has been added in words such as *bēt*, take; *māwutō*, father, etc. The *p* in *gelpō*=*gēlō*, boy, must be a similar addition.

An *l* or *ḷ* is apparently added or substituted for another final in words such as *gēlō*=*bēṭā* (?), boy; *dhēlyā*, kid; compare *bhērā*, ram; *chhil*=*bhar* (?), filling; *kōḷ*=*kar*, doing (compare Sāṁ *kūḷ*); *gawalnō*, singing, and so on.

The *bar* in *hōbar-ke*, having been, and so on, is probably a similar addition.

Further details will be ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, the second a popular tale. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 179ff.

[No. 28.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

MYĀNWALĒ OR LHĀRĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Khēk ḍamōlō-kū dōg gelpē hī. Wā-mē nhōknō gelpō
One man-to two sons were. Them-among younger son
 khāpnō māwutē-kū khulwādyō, 'māwutō, tērō jingānī-mē ma-kū barōsō
own father-to said, 'father, thy property-in me-to coming
 rāṭō ma-kū khīch.' Māwutō wā-mē khāpnō jingānī naṭōḍ-bētō.
share me-to give.' Father them-among own property divided.
 Nhōknō gelpō khāpnō rāṭō bēt-ke dūg mulūk-kū hiṭ-ke chhōt
Younger son own share having-taken far country-to having-gone many
 din naī hōbrē khutnē-mē ū dund hō-bar-ke khāpnō jingānī
days not became this-much-in he riotous having-become own property
 nabalō narab kōl kīchī. Ū wāsarē kōlī khūpar wā
all evil doing was-done. He so having-done after that
 dēs-mā chaḍḍō dukāl naḍ-ke wā-kū naribī barawāḍī. Ū wā
country-in big famine having-fallen him-to poverty came. He that
 dēs-kā khēk ḍamōlō khurē nākri rhōkwāḍō. Ē ḍamōlō wā-kū
country-of one man near in-service remained. This man him
 kurnā narāṇē-kū khāpnō nhēt-ku nhandā-kīchō. Utthē chhukē-sī
swine grazing-for own field-to sent. There hunger-from
 nhankat hōbar-ke kurnā dutōsō nhūs-bī dut-ke rēpaṭ chhil
pangs having-become swine eaten husks-even having-eaten belly full
 bētō-tō, lēkin wā kū kun-kē pēsō-sē kuch-bī naī ḍhimlē.
taking-was, but him-to anybody-of near-from anything-even not was-got.
 Yēsō thōkē din hiṭwādyā, khāpnō ripchalī nāt yād hōbar-ke
So few days passed, own former state memory having-become
 ū khāpnō nan-mā khulwāḍō, 'mērō māwutō pēsō hōbrēsō chhōt
he own mind-in said, 'my father near being many
 nākar-kū rēpaṭ chhil-ke jāstī dūtan ḍhimlē; mē hyā chhukē-sī
servants-to belly having-filled more food is-got; I here hunger-from
 lugnalō Mē khatwāḍ-ke mērō māwutē-kō pēsō hiṭ-ke chhōlwādyō,
am-dying. I having-arisen my father-of near having-gone said,

“māwutō, mē Khidēw-kū nāp māwutē-kā nāp chōnd bētō. Mē tērō
“father, I God-of sin father-of sin tying took. I thy
 gelpō kar-kō kēnē bētañē-kū lāyakh naī. Ma-kū khēk nākari sarik
son saying saying taking-for worthy not. Me one servant like
 tērō pēsō rakhōd bēt.”’ Yātrī khul-ke whā-sī khuṭ-ke
of-thee near keeping take.”’ So having-said there-from having-arisen
 khāpnō māwutē-kō pēsō baratē-kō māwutē wā-kū dūg-sē chhuman-ke
own father-of near coming-on father him far-from having-seen
 mayā bar-ke chigīṭ-hiṭ-ke chiṭhi lōtke chummā bēt-wādō.
pity having-come run-gone-having embrace having-struck kiss took.
 Tab gelpō māwutē-kū chhōlō, ‘māwutē, mē tērō khagādī Khidēw-kā
Then son father-to said, ‘father, I of-thee before God-of
 khagādī nūk kōlwādī. Ma-kū tērō gelpō kar-kū chulāvē
before sin did. Me thy servant having-said should-be-called
 jin.’ Wā-sē māwutō khāpnō nākar-kū khulwādyō, ‘nīrō gipadā
not.’ That-to father own servants-to said, ‘good dress
 bēt-ke mērō gelpē-kū nīrāw; khānglī-mē chundadī ghalōd, gōñē-mē
having-taken my son-to put-on; finger-on ring put, feet-on
 jōḍakhā ghalōd; dūtnē-kū chhēgē kōlō. Hamē dūt-ke nuśāl
shoes put; eating-for preparation make. We having-eaten merry
 hōbraṅgē; kā-chōlē-tō yē mērō gelpō lugitō-tō, nīrku jik barō;
shall-become; why-say-then this my son dead-was, again life came;
 nukitō-hityāsō, dhimlō.’ Yē nhunke nablē nuśī hōbrē.
lost-gone, was-found.’ This having-heard all glad became.

Yē bakhat-kū wā-kō chaddō gelpō nhēt-mē hōbrō. Ū khōk-kē
This time-at his big son field-in was. He house-of
 pēsō barawādō, tab wā-kū gawalnō nachañnō bunakke barō. Yē
near came, then him-to singing dancing to-be-heard came. These
 nākar-mē khēk-kū chōl-ke, ‘kā nālī hōbrē?’ nuchawādyō.
servants-among one having-called, ‘what going-on is?’ asked.
 Wā-kū wā-nē khulwādō, ‘tērō rhākḷō barawādō; ū nīrō barke
Him-to him-by it-was-said, ‘thy brother came; he well having-come
 dhimlō. Wā-kē khāw-sē tērō māwutō dūtnō kōlō.’ Ō
was-met. That-of reason-from thy father feast made.’ That
 bun-ke wā-kō chaddō gelpō nusā hōbar-ke nītar hiṭō naī.
having-heard his big son angry having-become inside went not.
 Wā-kē khāw-sē wā-kō māwutō rhār barke, ‘nītar barawād,’
That-of reason-from his father outside having-come, ‘inside come,’
 kar-ke wā-kū chhōt khulō. Ū khāpnō māwutō-kū khulwādō, ‘mē
having-said him-to much said. He own father-to said, ‘I

itnē naras tallakh tērō nākri kōl-ke kabī tērō rhāyadi
so-many years up-to thy service having-done ever thy word
 lugai naĩ. Nir-ke mē mērō nōs-kū dhimalā-lē-kē dūtan kōḷṇē-kē
broke not. But I my friends having-gathered feast making-of
 khāw-sō tū ma-kū khēk dhilyā bī kabī naĩ khichō. Nir-tū
reason-from thou me-to one kid even ever not gavest. But
 khirāṇḍ-kā naṅgāt-mō naḍ-ke tērō jingānī nab niṅgāl-bētēsō
harlots-of company-in having-fallen thy property all devoured-having
 yē tērō gelpō khōk-kū barē narābar tū wā-kē khāw-sē dūtan
this thy son house-to coming as-soon-as thou his sake-for feast
 kōl bētētō.' Māwutō gelpō-kū chhōlwādō, 'tū nabalē dīn
making given-hast.' Father son-to said, 'thou all days
 mērō hyā rhōkē. Mērō pēsō hōbrēsō nab tērō-ch. Lugitōsō tērō
of-me near art. Me-of near being all thine. Dead-being thy
 rhākḷō, nirkū jik baritō; nukitō hityāsō, dhimlō. Yēsō hamē nuśī
brother, again life came; lost gone, was-found. So we merry
 hōbarkū narābar hōbrē.'
to-become proper is.'

[No. 29.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

MYANWALĒ OR LHĀRĪ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM..

Khēk nānd-mē dōg chōngnē chhōt nōs hōbrō. Khēk din
One village-in two beggars much friends were. One day
 dōgū dhimal-kē nar-dēs-kū hiṭ-kē khāw-sē niehār
both having-come-together other-country-to going-of sake-for thinking
 kōl-ke khāpnī pēsō hōbrēsō thōkō lōkō khēk khiswāsūk
having-made self near being little money one honest
 chhudikī-kō nābē-mē khich-ke, 'hamē dōgū dhimal-ke
old-woman-of possession-in having-given, 'we both having-come-together
 chōngkū barē-tō yē ham-kū khichawād,' yēsē chōl-ke nimāl hiṭē.
asking-for come-if this us-to give,' so having-said away went.
 Khagādī thōkō din-kē khūpar wā-mē-sē khēklā nir-ke wā
Then few days-of upon them-in-of one having-retained that
 ehhudikī-kō pēsō hiṭ-ke, 'māwutī, mērō nōs rāṭ-mel lugitō;
old-woman-of near having-gone, 'mother, my friend road-on died;
 wā-kī khāw-sē hamārō lōkō khichawād,' yēsō khulwādyō. I chhōt
that-of sake-for our money give,' so said. She many
 nabab khulwādī, lēkin ū buṇkō naī. Nhēwaṭī i wā lōkō
excuses said, but he heard not. At-last she that money
 wā-kū khichō. Thōkō din-kē khūpar dukarō wā chhudikī pēsō
him-to gave. Few days-of upon the-second that old-woman near
 bar-ke nēt chōngwādī. Tab wā chhudikī, 'rhākḷō, thōkō
having-come purse demanded. Then that old-woman, 'brother, few
 din-kā ripchē tērō nōs bar-ke, tū lugitō, yēsō chōl-ke
days-of behind thy friend having-come, thou diedst, so having-said
 lōkō chōngwādē. Wā-sē, "tum dōgū dhimal-ke barawād,"
money demanded. Him-to, "you both having-come-together come,"
 yēsō chhōt chōlwādō. Ū mērō rhāyaḍī naī buṇ-ke nulum-sē
so much said. He my word not having-heard force-with
 naḷ lōkō bētētō. Wā-sē ū narkār-kō pēsō nirādē
all money took-away. That-from he government-of near complainant

hiṭō. Tab narkār wā chhudikī-kū chulā-kū. bēt-kū nabalī
went. Then government that old-woman summoning-for having-given all
 nakhīkat nuchō.
facts asked.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

In a certain village there lived two beggars who were intimate friends. One day they thought of going together to a foreign country. They entrusted whatever little money they possessed to an honest old woman, requesting her to return it if they both came jointly to ask for it, and went away. A few days after one of them came back to the old woman and said, 'mother, my friend died on the road; therefore give my money to me.' She made many excuses, but he would not listen, and at last she returned the money to him.

Some days afterwards the other one came to the old woman and asked for the deposit. Then the old woman said, 'brother, a few days back thy friend came, said that you had died, and asked for the money. I remonstrated with him that you two would have to come together, but he did not heed my word and forcibly took the money from me.'

He then lodged a complaint before a judge. The judge summoned the old woman and ascertained all the facts.

KANJARI.

The name Kanjar is used to denote an aggregate of vagrant tribes. Mr. W. Crooke, in his *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, states that they are probably of Dravidian origin. He further remarks that 'there can be little doubt that the Kanjars are a branch of the great nomadic race which includes the Sānsiya, Hābūra, Beriya Bhātu, and more distant kindred, such as the Nat, Banjāra, Baheliya.'

Many of them live in the forests, 'where they subsist by hunting wolves, hares, and any kind of animal they can kill or catch, by gathering such roots and vegetable products as require no cultivation, and by extracting juice from the palm tree, which, after it has become fermented, is the favourite beverage of almost all the wandering and low-caste tribes of India. They are clever at trapping birds and squirrels, and any other kind of vermin which chance may throw in their way, all of which they eat indiscriminately. The arts of the Kanjars are making mats of the *sirkī* reed, baskets of wattled cane, fans of palm leaves, and rattles of plaited straw. From the stalks of the *mūnj* grass and from the roots of the *palāśa* tree they make ropes, which are sold or bartered to villagers in exchange for grain, milk, pigs, etc. They prepare the skins out of which drums are made, and sell them to Hindu musicians. They make plates of broad leaves which are ingeniously stitched together by the stalks; and plates of this kind are very widely used by the inferior Indian castes and by confectioners and sellers of sweetmeats. They are among the chief stone-cutters of Upper India, especially in the manufacture of the grinding-stone, which is largely used. They gather the white wool-like fibre which grows in the pods of the *śalmali* or Indian cotton tree, and twist it into thread for the use of weavers. In the manufacture of brushes for the cleaning of cotton yarn, they enjoy an almost entire monopoly, and another complete or almost complete monopoly enjoyed by Kanjars is the collection and sale of the roots of *khaskhas* grass, which are afterwards made up by others into door screens and used as refrigerators during the hottest months of the year. At the same time many Kanjars are now taking to a more settled life: some are cultivators and field labourers; others live in towns and make door screens, baskets, sieves, and the like, and some of them in this way have considerably raised their social status.'

No satisfactory explanation of the word Kanjar has as yet been given. It has been derived from Sanskrit *kānanachara*, wanderer in the jungle, but this etymology is hardly possible from a philological point of view. It is more likely that *kanjar* is a shorter form of the word *kājarō* or *kājarō*, man, which is used by many Kanjars, and which is related to Sāsi *kajjā*, Naṭi *kājā* and Dōm *kājwā*. We do not know whether this word is Aryan or not. It is probably identical with Romani *gājō*.

The Kanjars are most numerous in the United Provinces in which, according	
to the Census of 1911, they numbered 18,345. Else-	
where there were 5,638, giving a total of 23,983.	

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KIRKPATRICK, W.,—*Folk-songs and Folk-lore of the Gehara (Kanjars). ibidem*, pp. 437ff. Other papers by the same author are found *ibidem*, pp. 669ff. (Exogamous Septs of the Gehara Section of Kuchbandia Kanjars), and pp. 753ff. (Oaths and Ordeals of the Geharas (Kanjars) of the Delhi District). They do not deal with the language.

We are very insufficiently informed about the language of the Kanjars, and it is possible that in most districts they use the dialect of their surroundings. During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect Kanjarī was returned from the following districts:—

United Provinces	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6,735
Aligarh	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	800
Farrukhabad	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	435
Sitapur	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3,000
Kheri	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,500
Central India	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	350
Gwalior	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	350
TOTAL											.	7,085

These figures are only loose estimates. Thus the number of Kanjars in Sitapur, where the estimated number of speakers was 3,000, was only 814 at the Census of 1901. On the other hand specimens of Kanjarī have been forwarded from Etawah and Belgaum, where no such dialect was reported to exist. The state of affairs is similar to that which we find in the case of other vagrant tribes. The Kanjars largely adopt the dialect of their neighbours. If they want to avoid being understood, however, they, or at least some of them, avail themselves of an artificial argot, in which there is a certain number of peculiar words and where, in addition to these, ordinary words are used, but often in an altered shape, so as to become unintelligible to outsiders. So far as we can judge from the specimens, however, Kanjarī differs from other Gipsy argots such as Naṭī in having a more uniform base. The prevailing language in Aligarh, Farrukhabad and Etawah is Western Hindī and in Sitapur and Kheri Eastern Hindī, while Kanarese and Marāṭhī predominate in Belgaum. The specimens received from all these districts, however, agree in so many particulars that we are almost justified in talking of a separate dialect. This dialect is, however, not a clearly defined form of speech, but a mixture of various languages, just as we should expect in the case of a vagrant tribe. But the mixture seems to be old and to have acquired a certain degree of constancy. The specimen received from Kheri, it is true, is written in Western Hindī, and only forms such as *dilā-mē*, in the heart; *basindā*, an inhabitant, show that the Kanjars from whose lips the specimen was taken down were not quite imbued with the grammar of that language. It seems likely that the Kheri specimen represents an attempt at talking Hindōstānī and not Kanjarī, and we can safely leave it out of consideration when trying to define the position of the latter. Also the Farrukhabad specimen is strongly influenced by Hindōstānī.

The inflexion of nouns in many respects differs from Hindōstānī. The oblique base of weak nouns sometimes ends in *ā*; thus, *garā-sē*, to the neck (Aligarh); *garā-mā*, on the neck (Etawah). Similarly the oblique plural ends in *ā* or *ā̃*; thus, *naukar-chakrā-sē*, to the servants (Aligarh); *rarsā-sē*, years from (Sitapur); *naukrā-ku*, to the servants (Belgaum). Such forms agree with Marāṭhī, the singular ones also with Bihārī and the plural ones with Rājasthānī.

An *ō* is often added to weak bases and kept in the oblique form; thus, *ribō-kē*, of the house (Aligarh, Sitapur); *bihārō-mē*, in the property (Etawah); *dāmō-dē*, of value (Farrukhabad); *bāpō-nē*, by the father (Belgaum). This *ō* is different from the final *ō* of strong masculine bases, which becomes *ā* in the oblique form and in the plural; thus, *chūbkō*, son; *chūbkā*, sons; *baphēlā-sē*, to the father, in the Sitapur specimens and similar forms in the materials forwarded from the other districts. Ordinary Hindōstānī forms are used as well. The Rājasthānī affinities acquire some significance if we remember that we find a similar state of affairs in other argots such as Dōm, Naṭī and Sāsī.

The case suffixes are mainly Hindōstānī. The dative suffix *ku*, *kū*, *kō* also reminds us of Dravidian. The ablative suffix is commonly *sē*, in Farrukhabad, however, also *sū* as in Mārwarī, Jaipurī and Mālvī. In Belgaum we find *dē*, from, which perhaps has something to do with the genitive suffix *dā*, *dī*, which is used in addition to *kā*, *kī*, in Farrukhabad. It will be seen that this latter suffix is identical with the Pañjābī one. It is, however, possible that it has something to do with Tamil *uḍeiya*, Kanarese *da*.¹

In many of the specimens we will find that the final *ō* of adjectives is often kept before an inflected noun; thus, *khachchhō najaū-kū*, to a good man (Sitapur); *ōchhō baṭrā-nē*, by the younger son (Etawah); *apnō kaurī paisā*, his money (Farrukhabad); *tēro naukrī*, thy service (Belgaum). Such instances point to the conclusion that the sense of gender is weak and that adjectives are not inflected, a state of affairs which would be natural if the Kanjars were not originally Aryans.

With regard to pronouns we may note the use of the base *jō*, *jī*, as a demonstrative pronoun, just as is the case in Rājasthānī, and, further, the curious forms *urō-nē*, by him (Aligarh); *urō-kā*, his (Etawah); *īgal*, this matter; *kēgal*, what matter (Farrukhabad); *ūr*, *birō*, he; *urō-kō*, his (Sitapur); *yō*, thou; *yurō-ku*, *urō-ku*, to thee; *urō-ku*, to him. These and similar forms remind us of Dravidian; compare Tulu *īr*, Kui and Old Telugu *īru*, you; Tamil Kanarese *avar* Gōṇḍī *ōr*, he, etc.

The conjugation of verbs presents some peculiar features. There are several additions to the base which do not appear to modify the meaning. Thus an *r* is frequently suffixed; compare *hubbār rai-r-ī*, is going on (Aligarh); *lugai-r-ō*, he beats (Sitapur); *raṣ-r-ō*, he remained (Aligarh); *ā-r-ō*, he came; *sun-r-ō*, he heard (Etawah); *ā-r-ō*, he came; *lugai-r-ō̃*, I had beaten (Sitapur); *kuṭ-r-ō*, I struck; *gaug-r-ō*, I went; *dusā-r-ō*, I said; *hu-r-ō*, I became (Belgaum). This *r* is sometimes followed by the termina-

¹ Compare, however, the Western Paṭhārī ablative postposition *dō*, which is certainly Indo-Aryan.

tion *s* of the past; thus, *kai-r-s*, did; said; *khā-r-s*, ate; *pi-r-s*, drank; *karī-gu-r-sē*, having done wentest, hast done, etc. (Aligarh).¹

Often the syllable *wār* or *bār* is added; compare Myānwālē *wāḍ*, Dōm *uar*. Thus, *baṭ-wār*, dividing; *jibbār-ō*, came to life (Sitapur); *sun-wār-ko*, having heard; *kar-wār-ō*, hast made (Belgaum); *baṭ-bār*, having divided; *lī-bbār-kē*, having taken; *ra-bbār-ō*, wast (Aligarh), and so forth. In the Belgaum specimens we sometimes find *wāḍ* instead of *wār*; thus, *mil-wāḍ-ō hē*, *mil-wāḍ-dō*, and *mil-wār-ō*, he is found; *tud-wāḍ-ō*, broke; *paḍ-wāḍ-ko*, having fallen, and so forth. It seems probable that we should compare the Mārwarī termination *rō*, which is so frequently added pleonastically. We may also compare the causal terminations Mārwarī *wāw*, Jaipurī *āḍ*, Gujarātī *āw*, *āḍ*. Forms such as *khaneṭō karwārō hai*, thou hast made a feast; *charwārdō*, grazing; *bandwār līnō*, I have taken having caused it to be attached to me, I have committed, in the Belgaum specimen, are perhaps actually causals. In most cases, however, the addition of *wār* does not seem to affect the meaning.

This use of added *r*, *wār*, *bār* is accordingly perhaps another point in which Kanjarī agrees with Rājasthānī. Broadly speaking the conjugation of verbs is the same as in that form of speech. In the past tense, however, the termination is *ō* and not *yō*; compare *karō*, did; *lagō*, began (Etawah). Forms such as *dīnō*, gave; *līnō*, took, are well known from Mārwarī and Jaipurī. The *l* in *manālō*, entreated (Aligarh); *pūchhlō*, asked (Etawah), may be comparable, or else it may be another form of the *r* mentioned above. The *s* which occurs in several forms such as *dis*, gave; *lis*, took; *sunīgulis*, heard; *lakhārs*, said (Aligarh); *līnhis*, took; *dīnis*, gave (Etawah); *lakhāis*, said; *riūchhis*, asked; *kaughis*, said (Sitapur), on the other hand, belongs to Eastern Hindī. Such forms are especially common in the Sitapur specimen, and the prevailing language in Sitapur is Awadhī. They are not met with in the Belgaum texts.

In the future we find *s* forms in Aligarh and Sitapur and *g* forms in Farrukhabad and Belgaum. Compare *kahsū*, I will say; *karugasā*, we will do (Aligarh); *lakhāwsū*, I will say; *lugaoghasī*, thou wilt beat, he will beat (Sitapur); *huggā*, it will be; *jāwāgā*, I shall go (Farrukhabad); *hōwunṅā*, I shall be; *kuṭunṅō*, I shall beat (Belgaum). Similar forms are found in Mārwarī, but more properly belong to Eastern Rājasthānī. In Etawah we find forms such as *jānḍ*, I shall go; *kahnḍ*, I shall say. They may be compared with the Jaipurī forms ending in *lō*. Compare also Naipālī.

So far as we have seen hitherto Kanjarī conjugation broadly agrees with Rājasthānī, especially Eastern Rājasthānī. Another feature seems to point in a different direction. Kanjarī seems to possess a participle the characteristic element of which is *d*. Compare *tildō*, giving; *augadō*, coming; *jaugadō*, *jāḍō*, gone (Aligarh); *maddō*, dying; *kaddō*, doing; *rahandō-mē*, among the inhabitants (Etawah); *lugaḍdō*, beating; *jaughadō*, going (Sitapur); *hōndō*, being; *nikhardō*, going; *awardō*, coming; *margōdō*, dead (Belgaum). It will be seen that such forms are used as present and also as past participles. They are also contained in verbal forms. Some of these belong to present

¹ The termination *rō* may also be a contraction of *rahō* and *rs* of *rahēs*, both meaning 'was,' and the latter being the Awadhī form. In many dialects, especially in Western Pahārī, this is added to the conjunctive participle to form a past tense. Thus *ārō* may be for *ā-rahō*, and so for the others. According to native grammarians, *rahāḍ* is the 'sister' of *rahā*.—G. A. G.

time ; thus, *chalgudaũ*, I go ; *dũtdaẽ*, they eat (Aligarh) ; *lugdaũ*, I die ; *aughadō*, he is coming (Sitapur) ; *maradũ*, I die ; *dẽndũ*, I give ; *ãndũ*, I come ; *nikhardaĩ*, we, you, they go (Belgaum). Others have the meaning of past tenses. Compare *handō*, was (Aligarh) ; *jãdō*, was sent (Etawah) ; *ãndā*, came ; *kaindā*, said (Farrukhabad) ; *hũdō*, was ; *lugaõdō*, struck (Sitapur) ; *handō*, was ; *bharicār-lẽndō*, would have filled ; *gawãndẽ-gaudō*, was lost (Belgaum).

It would be possible to compare the suffix *ndō* of the present participle of Sindhi and Naipali. The fact, however, that these forms are also used in the past perhaps points in a different direction. It will be seen from my remarks on page 296 of Volume IV of this Survey that there is a *d*-suffix which forms the indefinite present participle in Dravidian languages, and that one of the forms of the corresponding suffix of the past participle in Tamil is *ndu*. We have already found other possible traces of a Dravidian substratum in Kanjarī, and the *d*-suffix may be of the same kind. In this connexion I may also mention the verbal suffixes *ir* and *gir* in forms such as *lagirō*, began (Aligarh, Etawah, Sitapur) ; *ãgōgirō*, came ; *augirō*, came ; *gaigirō*, went ; *lugaighirō*, I have beaten ; *jaoghirō*, went (Belgaum), and so on, which look like compounds with the Dravidian *iru*, is ; *kiri*, am. The *r*-suffix mentioned above may have a similar origin. The extensive use of relative participles and the apparent tendency to form a negative verb in Belgaum is of less significance, because the predominant language of the district is Kanarese.

The facts drawn attention to above show that the dialect of the Kanjars is a mixed form of speech, and that the most important ingredient is Eastern Rājasthānī. Some characteristics point to the conclusion that there is, besides, a certain Dravidian element. If anything can be inferred from this state of affairs about the original home of the Kanjars, it would be that they lived somewhere in Eastern Rajasthan or Central India. At the present day we find Gōṇḍ dialects spoken in Bhopal, and there can be no doubt that Dravidian forms of speech once extended farther to the west. It must, however, be remembered that the speech of a vagrant tribe like the Kanjars at the present day can hardly show where their original home is, but only, at the utmost, that they have come into contact with those languages which can be traced in their own speech.

Kanjarī contains some peculiar words of the same kind as similar forms of speech. Such are *lug*, die ; *lugai*, beat (Sitapur) ; *chũbōkō*, son (Aligarh and Sitapur) ; *ṭipui*, bread (Aligarh and Sitapur) ; *jhũkil*, dog (Sitapur) ; *dũt*, eat (Aligarh and Sitapur) ; *thũr*, eat (Belgaum) ; *jhuraĩ*, fire (Sitapur) ; *gunḍālẽ*, foot (Belgaum) ; *gurārō*, foot (Aligarh and Sitapur) ; *tiũr*, give (Sitapur) ; *kĩdō*, give (Belgaum) ; *riḥ*, house (Aligarh and Sitapur) ; *nandō*, house (Belgaum) ; *kãjarō*, man (Etawah) ; *kājarō*, man (Belgaum) ; *najaũ*, man (Sitapur) ; *tiḡ*, see (Aligarh and Sitapur) ; *nīmānĩ*, water (Sitapur) ; *nivāni*, water (Belgaum), and so forth. Some of the words in use among Kanjars have a Dravidian look. Compare *pãḍō*, bull ; *awarō*, comes ; *kĩdō*, give, in the Belgaum specimens, with Tamil *māḍu*, bull ; *vara*, come ; *koḍu*, give, respectively, and *tiũr*, give (Sitapur), with Tamil *tara*, give. Mr. Kirkpatrick mentions several more such words, such as *dhimrĩ*, bread ; *ghamēlā*, sun ; *khainch*, thief ; *khuth*,

night ; *kūrch*, drink ; *mikatch*, death ; *ninghār*, ghee ; *rikā*, rupee ; *tigro*, see ; *tūbargo*, swim ; *tūrrak*, sleeping, and so forth. Of these *ghamēlā*, sun, is of some interest, as being evidently connected with Romani *kham*, sun, *lit.* heat.

With regard to the word *jhūkil*, dog, in the Sitapur texts, and *jhūkal* in Mr. Kirkpatrick's list, it should be noted that this word likewise presents a marked similarity with the European Gipsy word *jukel*, dog.

Such words appear to belong to the original vocabulary of the Kanjars, and many of them are no doubt unintelligible to outsiders. The case is a little different with the Arabic numerals which are used by the Kanjars of Belgaum, just as is the case with the Qaşāis of the Panjab. The numerals in question will be found in the Standard List of Words and Sentences on pp. 180ff., and their Arabic origin is self-evident.

Like other tribes of the same kind the Kanjars use certain devices for disguising their words and making them unintelligible. The beginning of a word is often changed. Thus *kō* is prefixed in *kōhath*, hand (Sitapur) ; *kh* is prefixed or substituted for another initial in many cases. Compare *khachchā*, good ; *khakāl*, famine ; *khyārō-kē*, of the friends (Aligarh) ; *khamāl*, property (Kheri) ; *khāgēlē*, before ; *khādmī*, man ; *khawāj*, sound ; *khakkāl*, famine (Sitapur) ; *khandar*, inside ; *khūpar*, above (Belgaum). *Ch*, *chh* are apparently only prefixed to or substituted for labials ; compare *chibarwā-kū*, to fill (Aligarh) ; *chibrō*, big ; *chibhāi*, brother ; *chhūkā-sē*, from hunger ; *chhītar*, inside (Sitapur) ; *chait*, sit ; *chibaḍḍō*, big ; *chaulā-kē*, having called (Belgaum).

Cerebrals are used as disguising letters in words such as *ṭakhnī*, eye ; *ḍharib*, poor ; *ḍhilāp*, against (Urdū *khilāf*) ; *ḍhusī*, merry (Sitapur) ; *ḍharrō*, big (Aligarh).

N only occurs as a substitute for *k* or *kh* in the texts. Compare *nēt*, field (Aligarh and Sitapur) ; *najaū*, man ; compare *kājarō* (Sitapur).

Labials do not appear to be much used in this way. Compare *pāḍō*, bull (Belgaum), which may be Tamil *māḍu* or Hindōstānī *sāḍ* ; *bēk*, one ; *baur*, and ; *bīrō*, that (Sitapur).

R is of more common occurrence. Compare *rakriā-kō rachchā*, a goat's young (Aligarh) ; *rahnāō*, put on ; *rarmēsur*, God ; *rusāk*, cloth ; *riūchhis*, asked ; *ranāi*, make ; *rahut*, much ; *rūlak*, country ; *ranjūrā-kū*, to the servants (Sitapur). In all these instances *r* has replaced an old labial. It is, however, occasionally also used instead of other sounds ; compare *ruāb*, answer ; *ramā*, together ; *rarsā-sē*, from years, all in the Sitapur texts.

An *l* is prefixed in *lakhāwsū*, I will say (Sitapur) ; *lakhārs*, said (Aligarh), and it has been substituted for an *n* in *likārō*, bring out.

Words are also disguised by means of additions at the end, and such additions are very common in Kanjarī, just as is the case in Dōm. Some of them such as *ō* and *r* have already been mentioned above. With regard to *r* I may add that it is also added after nouns and adjectives. Compare *gurārō*, foot ; *bhaiyārā*, brother (Aligarh) ; *chhutārō*, small ; *ṭhurārā*, few (Sitapur) ; *phalāri*, fruit (Belgaum). Several other additions are used, and most of them are well known from similar

argots. The principal ones are, so far as we can judge from the materials available :—

g or *gh* is used in words such as *aogh*, come ; *liūghis*, took ; *haughē*, is (Sitapur) ; *gaugrō*, went (Belgaum). The initial consonant of the suffix *gir* (*ghir*) mentioned above is perhaps of the same kind.

An element *eṭō* or *ēṭhō* is comparatively often added. Thus, *papēṭō*, sin ; *malēṭhō*, property (Aligarh) ; *hattēṭō*, hand ; *khanēṭō*, food (Belgaum).

A dental has been added in words such as *ramtā*, pity (Sitapur) ; *chamakdē*, lustre ; *bahutdē*, many (Belgaum).

A common suffix is *ēlō* ; thus, *khatēlā-mē*, on the hand ; *batēlī*, words (Aligarh) ; *hisēlū*, share ; *papēlō*, sin (Sitapur) ; *khakēlē*, eye ; *jibēlī*, tongue (Belgaum). Instead of *ēlō* we also find *bēlō* and *hēlō* ; thus, *dubēlū*, two ; *tibēlū*, three ; *bap-hēlō*, father ; *bhus-hēlī*, chaff ; *chum-hēlō*, kissed, all in the Sitapur specimens.

The preceding remarks will be sufficient for removing the difficulties in the way of understanding the specimens of Kanjarī which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son received from the Sitapur district. It will be seen from the Parable and from the Standard List of Words and Sentences printed below on pp. 180ff. that there are comparatively few traces of the influence of Awadhī, the chief language of the district.

[No. 30.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

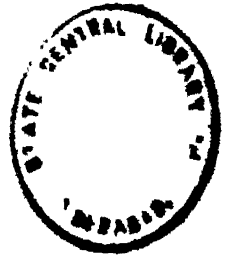
KANJARI.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT SITAPUR.

Bēk najau dubēlū chūbhā raughasā. Bithi-mā^ũ chhutārō bap-hēlā-sē
One man(-of) two sons were. Them-in small-one father-to
 lakhāmdō, 'bap-hēlū, merō hisēlū jō khujārā-sē niphre, sō tiūr.'
said, 'father, my share which property-from comes, that give.'
 Bihi batwār tiūris. Thurārā din-hēlā chhutārō chūbkō
He having-divided gave. Few days-in small son
 ramā-kar-kē rūlak chailō gaughirō, baur apnō malhēlō
together-having-made country(-to) moved went, and own property
 khurāo dīnhis. Jab sab khurāo tiūris, birō rōlkō barō khakkāl
wasted gave. When all wasted gave, that in-country big famine
 parghirō, baur dharib hō-gaō. Tab us rōlkō-mā^ũ bēk
fell, and poor becoming-went. Then that country-in one
 ralakh khādmī tīr raughan lagirō. Birō apnō nētū ghurghur
wealthy man near to-live began. He own field swine
 charāwnē paṭhāis. Birō chaughirō bhus-hēlī jō ghurghur dūtā-dāī
to-feed sent. He wished husks which swine eating-were
 dūt-kē piṭ-hēlō bharighis. Nak-hēlū kōī na tiūris. Tab
having-eaten belly may-fill. But anybody not gave. Then
 khōsō ān-kē lakhāis, 'mērē bap-hēlā tīr ranjūrā-kū ṭipūī bahut
in-senses having-come said, 'my father near servants-to bread much
 rach-raughirī, baur māī chhūkā-sē lugdaū. Māī khunar-kē
saved-remained, and I hunger-from dying-am. I having-arisen
 bap-hēlā tīr jaughisō, baur birō-sē lakhāwsū, "aī bap-hēlā, māī-nē
father near will-go, and him-to will-say, "O father, me-by
 khasmānō-kē dhlāp baur tērē khāgēlē papēlō karōghis; māī tērō
heaven-of against and of-thee before sin done-was; I thy
 chūbkō lakhāibāwālō nahī. Mōh-kū ranjūrā-kī nāī ranāi." ' Tab
son one-to-be-called not. Me servants-of like make." ' Then
 bihi apnō bap-hēlā tīr gaughirō. Abhaī woh durhēlū, birō-kē
ne own father near went. Yet he far-was, his
 bap-hēlā tik-kē ramta kīnhis, baur rapat-kē urō-kō dhalē
father having-seen pity did, and having-run him-to on-neck
 lagāi liūghis, baur rahut chumbhēlō. Chūbkō kaughis, 'bap-hēlā,
attaching took, and much kissed. Son said, 'father,

tērō dhunā kinhaũ, baur rarmēsūrō-kō dhunā kinhaũ; birā laik-kō
of-thee sin I-did, and God-of sin I-did; now worthy
 nahĩ ki phir tērō chũbkō lakhāũ.' Bap-hēlā apnē
not that again thy son I-shall-be-called.' Father own
 nukarhēlā-kō lakhāis, 'achhĩ rusāk niphar liāō, baur urō-kū rahnāō;
servants-to said, 'good robe taking-out bring, and him-to put-on;
 urū-kē kōhathō-mā khāgũthĩ gurārā-mā gurārĩ rahnāō. Ham dutaĩ
him-of hand-on ring feet-on shoes put-on. We may-eat
 baur dhusĩ hōẽ. Mērō chũbkō lōgirō hurō-thō, ab jibbārō;
and merry may-be. My son dead become-was, now revived;
 khubbārō gaō-thō, ab milghirō.' Tab woh dhusĩ karnũ lagirō.
lost gone-was, now was-found.' Then they merry to-make began.
 Chibrō chũbkō nētō-mā hũdō. Jab ribō-kē nagich-hēlā aughirō,
Big son field-in was. When house-of near came,
 gabbāribō nach-hēlā-kĩ khawāj sunghirō. Baur bēk nukarhēlā-kō
music dancing-of sound heard. And one servant-to
 rulāo-kē riũchhis, 'yō kā haughē?' Wō us-sē lakhāis, 'tērō
having-called asked, 'this what is?' He him-to said, 'thy
 chibhāĩ aughirō; tērō bap-hēlā-nē barĩ rāfat kīnhis, birā-rātē birō-kō
brother came; thy father-by big feasting made, this-for him
 khachchhō paughis.' Ruṭhwār raughirō chhĩtar jaughirō-na. Birō-kē
well found.' Angry got inside went-not. Him-of
 bap-hēlō chhābir ārō baur ranāũnō lagirō. Bap-hēlā-kū ruāb
father outside came and to-entreat began. Father-to answer
 tiūris, 'tigō, itnĩ rarsā-sē māĩ tērĩ dhijmit karũ; tērē dhuknō-kē
gave, 'see, so-many years-from I thy service do; thy order-of
 dhilāp na chalughē. Bēk rakariā-kā bachchā na tiūrō ki māĩ
against not went. One goat-of young-one not gavest that I
 apnē dhusēlā-kē sāth dhusĩ ranāutō. Jaisē tērō chhuṭārō chũbkō
own friends-of with merry might-make. As thy young son
 ārō, jō tērō malhēlō dhasbiyā-mā khurāis, tū bunhā-kĩ barĩ
came, who thy property harlots-among wasted, thou him-of big
 rāfat kīnhis.' Urū-kō ūr lakhāis, 'ai chũbkā, khamēsā tū mērē
feasting madest.' Him-to he said, 'O son, always thou of-me
 tĩr hāis; jō mērō haughē, sō tērō haughē. Dhusĩ
near art; what mine is, that thine is. merry
 ranāẽ, dhusĩ hurū; tērō chibhāĩ lugirō-thō, sō jibbārō; khubbār
should-make, merry should-be; thy brother dead-was, he revived; lost
 gayō-thō, phir milghirō.
gone-was, again was-found.'



A specimen of Kanjari has also been forwarded from the Kheri District. It does not, however, represent any separate dialect, but is an attempt at writing ordinary Hindöstani, as will be seen from the beginning of the Parable which follows.

"Forwarded with the specimens from the
Ministry of Education, Government of India."

[No. 31.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT KHERI.

Ek bāpkē dō nēkrē thē. Lahaurē nēkrē-nē apnē bāp-sē
One father-of two sons were. Younger son-by own father-to
 kahā, 'ayē bāp, apnē khamāl wis-mē-sē mērā bāṭā dē, jō
it-was-said, 'O father, own property that-in-of my share give, which
 mērē bāṭē-mē āē.' Tab us-nē dōnō nēkrō-kō balwā bāṭī
my share-in may-come.' Then him-by both sons-to property dividing
 diyā. Aur lahaurē beṭē-nē apnā balwā lē-kar dūr-kē
was-given. And younger son-by own property having-taken far
 mulkā-mē jātā rahā aur apnā balwā haram khaurī-mē
country-to going stayed and own property forbidden wickedness-in
 urāyā. Sab jab ur-gayā us mulkā-mē kāl pareō aur
squandered. All when squandered-went that country-in famine fell and
 woh hō gayā naṅgā. Us mulkā-mē ēk basindā-kē tīrē
he becoming went naked. That country-in one resident-of near
 jāi lagā. Us-nē usē sūr chugānē-kō khēt-mē
having-gone attached-himself.' Him-by him pigs to-graze field-in
 ghulāyā. Apnē dilā-mē sōchā ki un chhulō-kō jō sūr khāilā
sent. Own heart-in thought that this husks which swine ate
 un-par pēt bharē; us-kō kōi khānē-kō dētā nahī thā. Apnē
those-on belly may-fill; him-to anybody eating-for giving not was. Own
 dilā-mē tab akal kiā ki, 'mērē bāpā-kē itnē ādmi rōṭī
heart-in then sense was-made that, 'my father-of so-many men bread
 khātē haī, aur maī bhūkhō martū-hū. Maī uṭhī-kē apnē
eating are, and I with-hunger dying-am. I having-arisen own
 bāpā-kē dhaurē jāū aur us-sē yeh kahaṅgrā-hū ki, "bāp rē,
father-of near may-go and him-to this saying-am that, "father O,
 maī-nē bādar aur tērā harā kasūr kariā. Is lāek hū ab
me-by sky and of-thee big sin was-made. This worthy am now
 nahī ki phir tērā beṭā kahaṅgrā, ki bāp rē, itnē majūr
not that again thy son shall-say, that father O, so-many servants
 tērē lāgē haī, ēk mujhē bhī lāgī jān."'
thine appointed are, one me also appointing consider."'

The Kanjarī of Aligarh contains a strong Rājasthānī element. As has already been remarked there are, however, some features which seem to show the existence of a Dravidian element, while the *s*-suffix of the past tense points towards Eastern Hindī.

[No. 32.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT ALIGARH

Kinui-kā dō chūbkā thā. Irā-mē-sē chhōtā-nē bāpō-sē
Some-one-of two sons were. Them-in-from younger-by father-to
 kairs ki, 'bāpū, ittha-mē-sē tildē mērō.' Urō-nē duhī-kū
said that, 'father, property-in-from give mine.' Him-by both-to
 baṭbār dis. Thōrā dinā-mē chhōtō baṭrō malēthō hikattḥō
having-divided gave. Few days-in small son property together
 kairs, apnō libbār-kē par-dēs chalgurō gaigirō. Hūā phēlsūbī
made, own having-taken other-country moved went. There riotousness
 kairs aur khārs pīrs urārs kharch-kar tilis; rabbārō na
did and ate drank squandered expended-making gave; remained not
 kachhu. Tab hūā khakāl dharrō hurō. Dutābās taṅg hurō,
anything. Then there famine big became. Food scarce became,
 pallē na rairō. Tab kinū bhagwānō-kē hillā-sir hūā
in-possession not remained. Then some rich-man-of employment-in there
 jā lagirō. Urō-nē apnē nētā-mē ghurair chugānū bhijwārs.
going was-attached. Him-by own fields-in swine to-tend sent.
 Wuī chāhdō thō, 'jin khaptā ghurair dūtdō thō wuī maī bī khā
He wishing was, 'which husks swine eating were those I all eating
 ṭukhulō chibarwā-kū hundō.' Urā-kō kōi tildō nāy. Tab
belly filling-for am(-prepared). Him-to anyone giving not. Then
 urō-kū khōs ā-gaō, tab urō-nē kairs ki, 'tigō ki mērā bāpō-kē
him-to sense came, then him-by said that, 'see that my father-of
 bahutērā rahuā ṭipuiē dūtdāē aur chhūkarō papurdaū. Ab maī
many servants bread are-eating and hungry I-starve. Now I
 chalgudaū bapētā-kē thaur jāgsū aur urō-sē kaksū, "bapētā, maī-nē
am-going father-of near will-go and him-to will-say, "father, me-by
 tērē āgē Bhagwānō-kō papētō kērō; ab maī tērō chūbkō kahwā.
of-thee before God-of sin was-done; now I thy son to-say
 lāk na rahrō. Apnā rahuā-kutauā-mē mō-kū rakhwāl-lō."'
worthy not am. Own servants-among me putting-take."'
 Hūā-se wū chalgurō bāpō-kē thaur augirō. Dūrō-sē tigdēī bapētā-kī
There-from he moved father-of near came. Far-from seeing father-of
 chhātī bhariyārī, wūā-sē nipharrō, urō-kū garā-sē lagā lis aur
breast was-filled, there-from went, him-to neck-to claspng took and

bahut chummī lis. Bāpō-sē batrā-nē kairsan ki, 'ē bāpū, tērē
many kisses took. Father-to son-by said-was that, 'O father, of-thee
 āgē Bhagwānō-kō papēṭō kērō; maī tērō chūbkō kahwā lāk na
before God-of sin was-done; I thy son to-say worthy not
 rahrō.' Tab bāpō-nē naukār-chākṛā-sē lakhārs ki, 'khachchā-mē
remained.' Then father-by servants-to said that, 'good-in
 khachchā ṭupkā likārō aur irā-kū pēdāwō; aur irā-kē khatelā-mē
good clothes bring and him-to put-on; and him-of hand-on
 chhapēli pēdā til aur irā-kā guṛārā-mē guṛārīā dār til. Chalō,
ring putting give and him-of foot-on shoes putting give. Come,
 khūsī karugaṣā, kit-kū-ki mērō ji batrō mar-gōgirō, phēr jī
merry we-shall-make, because my this son dead-gone-is, again alive
 pariguro; ji jaugadō rairō thō, phēr ā-gōgirō.' Aur sab khūsī
fell; he lost remaining was, again came.' And all merry
 karnū lagirō.
to-make began.

Urō ghariyē urō-kō barō batrō nētā-mē thō. Urō augirō aur jab
That at-time him-of big son fields-in was. He came and when
 ribō-kē ṭhaurē pahūchigirō, urō-nē gāwā-kō aur nāchwā-kō khabās
house-of near came, him-by singing-of and dancing-of sound
 sunigulis. Aur urō-nē ēkō nukreṭhā bulārs aur lakhārs ki, 'ji
was-heard. And him-by one servant called and said that, 'this
 kā hubbāi rairī?' Aur urō-nē urō-sē ji lakhārs ki, 'tērō chhōṭō
what going-on is?' And him-by him-to this said that, 'thy small
 bhaiyarā bagadi augirō. Tērā bāpō-nē khātari kari-gursē, kit-kū-ki urō
brother returning came. Thy father-by feast done-was, because he
 achchhō nīkō ā-gōgirō.' Tab urō-kū rīs ā-gōgirī; bithī-sē urō-kō bapēṭō
good well came.' Then him-to anger came; therefore him-of father
 ribō-sē likari-kē augadō rairō urō-kō manālō. Urō-nē bapēṭā-kū
house-from having-come-out come was him entreated. Him-by father-to
 ūtar dis, 'tū bāp tigi, itnā barsā-sē maī-nē tērī khēbari
answer was-given, 'thou father see, so-many years-from me-by thy service
 kēri; kabhai tērī batēli dīraurī nā; tau-bī tē-nē ēk rakriā-kō
was-done; ever thy word was-broken not; still thee-by one goat-of
 rachchā mō-kū na tillō ki apnā khyārā-kē saṅg rauj urādō;
young-one me-to not was-given that own friends-of with merry might-make;
 pari jaisē ji tērō chūbkō ārō, irō-nē hurikiāpēchō-mē malēṭhō sab
but when this thy son came, him-by adultery-in property all
 urā dis, tē-nē urō-kē linē patēli dīnī.' Urō-nē
squandering gave, thee-by him-of for-the-sake feast was-given.' Him-by

urō-sē lakhārs, 'ē chūbkā, tū sadā mērē ṭhaur rabbārō; jō mērē
him-to said, 'O son, thou always of-me near art; what of-me
 pasēlē hubbārē, sō sab tērō-i hubbārē. Ham khusī karugsā, kit-kū-ki
near is, that all thine-only is. We merry shall-make, because
 tērō ji bhaiyarā marugirō, phēr jibbār-kē; aur ji jādō rairō,
thy this brother dead-was, again having-come-to-life; and he lost was,
 phēr ā-gōgirō.
again came.'

The specimens received from Etawah are essentially of the same kind as the preceding ones. Note, however, the future forms *jānō*, I will go; *kahnō*, I will say, and the greater admixture of Hindōstānī.

[No. 33.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARĪ.

SPECIMEN IV.

DISTRICT ETAWAH.

Kisi kâjarō-kē dō baṭrā thē. Ōchhō baṭrā-nē dā-sē kahī
Some man-of two sons were. Small son-by father-to it-was-said
 ki, 'arē dā, bihārō-mē jō mērō rīkā hai, mērō dē-dē.'
that, 'O father, property-in which my share is, mine give.'
 Tab us-nē un-kō apnī bihārō bāṭ dīnā. Bahut din
Then him-by them-to own property having-divided was-given. Many days
 [na] hōgā ki ōchhō baṭrā sab kuchh ikatṭhā kar-kē dūsrē
[not] became that small son all whatever together having-made other
 mulk-kō gawā aur apnī bihārō urāwā. Tab wā mulk-mē
country-to went and own wealth was-squandered. Then that country-in
 baṛō akāl pairō aur wah kaṅgāl hō gawā. Aur wā
big famine fell and he destitute becoming went. And that
 mulk-kē rahandō-mē-sē ēk-kī yahāṅ rahan lagō, jis-nē usē apnē
country-of inhabitants-in-from one-of with to-live began, whom-by him own
 khētō-mē suar charān jādō. Aur un chhimiyō-sē jinhē suar
fields-in swine to-tend was-sent. And those husks-from which swine
 khātē thē apnō udrō bhar linhis, aur kōi na dēnē tō. Tab
eating were own belly filling took, and anybody not to-give was. Then
 usē chētany huē, tab wā-nē kahī ki, 'mērē dā-kē
to-him senses came, then him-by it-was-said that, 'my father-of
 kitnē majūrō-kō jāfat-sē baṛh rōṭī hōṭī hai, aur maī
how-many servants-to food-from more bread becoming is, and I
 bhūkhō maddō hū. Maī uṭh-kē apnē dā dhīg jānō aur
with-hunger dying am. I having-arisen own father near will-go and
 wā-sē kahnō ki, "hē dā, maī-nē baikunṭh-kē ultē āp-kē sūdhē
him-to will-say that, "O father, me-by heaven-of against you-of before
 pāp karō hai. Maī phir āp-kā baṭrā kahānē kām-kā nahī.
sin done is. I again your-Honour-of son to-be-called worthy not.
 Mujhē apnē majūrō-mē-sē ēk-kē barabbar karwā."
Me own servants-in-from one-of like make."

The Farrukhabad specimens are also much mixed with Hindōstānī. Note also Pañ-jābī terminations such as *bich*, *vich*, in, and the doubling of consonants in words such as *laggā*, began. The general character of this form of Kanjarī will be apparent from a perusal of the short specimen which follows.

[No. 34.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARĪ.

SPECIMEN V.

DISTRICT FARRUKHABAD.

Ikk chōr kisū ghar-bich ghus-gayā aur andhērē-mā dhūdhnē laggā
One thief some house-in entering-went and darkness-in to-search began
 ki, 'kōi dāmō-dī chij hāth laggē, tō lai jāũ.'
that, 'some value-of thing hand may-be-applied, then taking may-go.'
 Achchānak ikk sandūkh par ṭhukkar laggī. Chōr-nē uṭṭhā
Suddenly one box on stumbling was-applied. Thief-by having-lifted
 liā. Sandūkh bhārī thā. Man-vich suchchā ki, 'ī-mā
was-taken. Box heavy was. Mind-in it-was-thought that, 'this-in
 māl huggā.' Ī-gal man-vich sōch ghar-sū bāhar āndā
property will-be.' This-matter mind-in thinking house-from out come
 aur ikk bagiyā-vich jhārī-dī ṭṭ waṭh-kar kil-sū tallā khōlnē
and one garden-in bush-of behind having-sat-down nail-with lock to-open
 laggā ki, 'unā-dā māl nikāsū.' Ī kartā
began that, 'that-of property I-may-take-out.' This doing
 bājā-dī kōi kal chal-gai jī-sū bājā bājnē
musical-instrument-of some spring moving-went which-from instrument to-play
 laggā. Chōr-nē dar-dē mārē bājā paṭak-mārā aur sanūdē
began. Thief-by fear-of from instrument was-thrown-down and own
 jān lē-kar bhaggā. Ī bāg-dā māli chōr-dē paggān-dē
life taking fled. This garden-of gardener thief-of footstep-of
 āhaṭ-sē jaggā aur dēkhnē laggā ki, 'ī kē-gal hai?'
sound-from awake and to-see began that, 'this what-matter is?'
 Saṛhi-dā jān parā ki jhārī-vich bājā-dē āwāj nikas
Him-of knowledge fell that bush-in instrument-of sound coming-out
 rahī hai. Tō ī-kō chōr-sē kam dar nahī laggā.
remaining is. Then this-to thief-from small fear not was-attached.
 Dar-dē mārē māli bhī utthē-sū bhuggā aur bāg-dē mālik-sē
Fear-of on-account gardener also there-from fled and garden-of owner-to
 ī-gal kaindā ki, 'bagiyā-vich bhūt ā-gayō.' Ū-nē bagiyā
this-matter told that, 'garden-in spirit came.' Him-by garden
 ghēr-lai aur jhārī-dē ṭṭ khusī karandā-hai.
was-surrounded and bush-of behind merriment made-is.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A thief entered a house and began to search in the dark if he could find anything valuable. Suddenly he stumbled against a box, which he then carried away. The box was very heavy, and he thought that it might contain some property. Thus thinking he came out of the house and sat down behind a bush in a garden, and tried to open the lock with a nail in order to get at the property. By doing so he moved the spring of a musical instrument which then began to play. The thief got afraid, dropped the instrument and fled for his life. The gardener of the garden woke up from the sound of the thief's footsteps, and when he began to look into the matter, he found out that the sound of a musical instrument came out from the bush. He consequently became no less afraid than the thief. Therefore he fled and reported the matter to the owner of the garden, saying that a ghost had entered the garden. He had the garden surrounded and made a feast behind the bush.

In Belgaum the speech of the Kanjars is known as Kanjarī. Its general nature has been described above, and the specimens which follow do not present any difficulties. The first is a version of the Parable, and the second a popular allegory about the Sun. A Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 180ff. It will be seen that some of the numerals registered in it are, as has already been remarked, Arabic.

[No. 35.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJIARĪ.

SPECIMEN, VI.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ekkan kajarō-ku jaudō baidā handā. Unā-mā nunkō baidō
One man-to two sons were. Them-among younger son
 apanē bāpō-ku sidārō, 'bāpō, tērō jindgī-mā mērō ēwākō hissō
own father-to said, 'father, thy property-in mine coming share
 mau-ku kīdō.' Bāpō-nē unā-mā apani jindgī baṭwārrō. Nunkō
me-to give.' Father-by them-among own property divided. Younger
 baidō apani hissō lēwar-ko dūr gaū-kō nikhar-ko bahut din
son own share taking far village-to having-gone many days
 hōrā-nā ittā-mā ē dundī hōwār-ko apani jindgī sab
became-not this-much-in he riotous having-become own property all
 luṭwārrō. Ē aisō karwār-ko khūpar wō mulkō-mā chibaddō dukāl
lost. He thus having-done after that country-in big famine
 girwār-ko urū-kī garībī awarri. Ē wō mulkō-mā ekkan
having-fallen him-of poverty came. He that country-in one
 kajarā-kē pās naukri rhairō. Wō kajarō urū-ku dukrē charāwā-ku
man-of near in-service stayed. That man him swine feeding-for
 apani khētō-ku lagā-dinū. Whā bhūkō-dē talmal-ko dukrē
own field-to employing-gave. There hunger-from having-suffered swine
 khāndāsō bhussō-bī thūr-ko pētō bharwār-lēndō, phir-tu urū-ku
eaten husks-even having-eaten belly filling-took, but him-to
 kirō-kē pās-dē kā-bī milwārō-nā. Aisō-ch thōdā din
anybody-of near-from anything-even was-got-not. Thus few days
 hurā, apani pichawādkē batēli yād hōwār-ko ē apani
became, own former state remembrance having-become he own
 jī-mā dusārō, 'mērō bāpō-kē hyā aisā bahutdē naukrā-ku pētō
mind-in said, 'my father-of with so many servants-to belly
 bharwār-ko jāsti hōwār-ittō khanētō milwāddō; phir-tu hyā
having-filled excess becoming-so-much food is-got; but here
 māi-tō bhukā-dē mardū. Māi khuṭ-ko mērō bāpō-kē
I-on-my-side hunger-from dying-am. I having-arisen my father-of
 hyā nikhar-ko dusārō, "bāpō, māi mahābūb-kō pāp awar
there having-gone say, "Ofather, I God-of sin and

bāpō-kō pāp bandwār linō. Maĩ tērō baidō kar-ko bōl-lēwā-ku
father-of sin attaching took. I thy son saying to-be-called
 byādik-mā; mau-ku ekkaṇ naukrō-kē sarikō tērō najik rakhwār-tē.”
worthy-not; me one servant-of like of-thee near keeping-take.”
 E whā-dē khut-ko apanī bāpō-kē pās awardō, bāpō-nē urō-ku
He there-from having-arisen own father-of near coming, father-by him-to
 dūrū-dē dikhwār-ko mayā awar-ko bhagwār-nikhar-ko chaukaḍ-
far-from having-seen pity having-come running-going embrace-
 lē-ko chummā dinō. Tabi baidō bāpō-ku dusārō, ‘bāpō,
having-taken kiss was-given. Then son father-to said, ‘father,
 maĩ mahābūb-kā sambōr tērō sambōr takhsīr karō-hū. Mau-ku
I God-of before of-thee before sin done-have. Me
 tērō baidō kar-ko dusār-nō-nā.’ Use bāpō-nē apanē naukrē-ku
thy son having-said to-be-said-not.’ That father-by own servants-to
 sidārō, ‘uñchō libās lawar-ko mērō baidā-ku pināw; uñgalya-mā
was-said, ‘high dress having-brought my son-to put-on; finger-on
 aṅgōti ḍalwārō, guṇḍālē-mā jūtā ḍalwārō; khanēṭā-kī tayārī
ring put, feet-on shoes put; dinner-of preparation
 karwār. Hamē thur-kō khuśāl hōwungā. Kaikutu yō mērō
make. We having-eaten merry shall-become. Because this my
 baidō mar-gōdō, phir jān awarri; gawānde-gaudō, millō-hē.’ Yē
son died, again life came; lost-gone, found-is.’ This
 sunwār-ko sārā khuśāl hurā.
having-heard all merry became.

Yē baktō-ku urō-kō chibadḍō baidō khētō-mā handō. E
This time-at his big son field-in was. He
 nandō-kē pās awarāsō baktō-mā urō-ku gāṇō awar raṅg sunwār
house-of near coming time-in him-to singing and dancing hearing
 awarrō. E naukar-mā-dē ekkaṇ-ku chaulā-ko, ‘kā challō
came. He servants-in-from one-to having-called, ‘what going-on
 hē?’ dusār-ko puchwārō. Use ē sidārō, ‘tērō bhai
is?’ having-said asked. That-to he said, ‘thy brother
 awarō-hē, ē khuśī-de awar-ko pohacharō, urū-ko wāsdē tērō
come-is, he happily having-come arrived, him-of for-the-sake thy
 bāpō-nē khanēṭō karwārō-hē.’ Yō sunwār-ko urō-kō chibadḍō baidō
father-by feast made-is.’ This having-heard his big son
 khandar gaugrō-nā. Us wāsdē urō-kō bāpō-nē bhār awar-ko,
inside went-not. That for his father-by outside having-come,
 ‘khandar awar,’ kar-ko urū-ku bahut sidārō. Use ē apanē
‘inside come,’ having-said him-to much was-said. That-to he own

bāpō-ku dusārō, 'maĩ itnā bars-laga tērō naukri karwār-ko kabī
father-to said, 'I so-many years-for thy service having-done ever
 tērō batēli tudwādō-nā. Phir-tō-bī maĩ mērō dōstaũ-ku milwār-lē-ko
thy word broke-not. But I my friends-to having-collected
 khanētō karwār-ke wāsdē yō mau-ku ekkaṇ bakrā bī
feast making-of for-the-sake thou me-to one goat even
 dinō-nā. Phir-tu rāṇḍaũ-ke sōbatī-mā padwād-ko tērō sārī jindgī
given-not. But harlots-of company-in having-fallen thy all property
 miṅgal-linōdo yō tērō baidō nandō-ku ārō barōbar yō
having-devoured this thy son house-to coming immediately by-thee
 urō-ke wāsdē khanētō karwārō-hē.' Bāpō-nē baidā-ku dusārō,
him-of for-the-sake feast made-is.' Father-by son-to said,
 'yō mērō saṅgāt nit-rōj rahēndō. Mērō pās hē, sō sārī
'thou of-me with all-days art. My near is, that all
 tēri-ch hē. Mar-gausō tērō bhai, phir-ku jidē utrō hē;
thine-only is. Dead thy brother, again alive arisen is;
 gam-gaudō-sō, milwādō hē. Aisō hamē khuṣī hōwār-ku byādik hē.'
lost-gone, found is. Thus we merry being-for proper is.'

[No. 36.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJIARĪ.

SPECIMEN VII.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Baidō, maĩ kōn? mērō nām kā? urō-ku mālum hē kā? Maĩ
Boy, I who? my name what? you-to known is what? I
 agarib-dē āndū, awar maĩ ārō barōbar din nigarō. Yō utawā-ko
east-from come, and I come immediately day comes. You arising
 bakhat hurrō-to maĩ mērō sunnā-kē sarikō hattētō tērō khiḍkī-mā-dē
time comes-then I my gold-of like hand your window-in-from
 lambō karwār-ko yurō-ku uṭhāndū. Yō bichhānā-pō paḍwāḍ rhaiko
stretched having-made you awaken. You bed-on falling remaining
 wāsdē maĩ āndū-nā. Yō uṭwār-ko nhawā-ku wāsdē kitāb paḍwā-ke
for I come-not. You having-risen to-bathe for books to-read
 wāsdē sāli-ku nikharwā-ke wāsdē maĩ āndū. Maĩ nīrō chalwārñewālō hñ.
for school-to to-go for I come. I good walker am.
 Maĩ rastō chalwār-ko asmān-mā phir-ko awarwā-ku ekkan din
I road having-walked sky-in returning coming-for one day
 hōnū. Maĩ kabī thagadū-nā, rahāt-bī-nā. Mērō śir-pō jhalak
becomes. I ever get-tired-not, halt-also-not. My head-on shining
 sunnā-ki tāj hē. Us-kī chamakdē maĩ chau-taraph phēkadū-hē.
gold-of crown is. That-of light I four-directions throwing-am.
 Niwāñi-pō nandā-pō dzhādā-pō mērō jhāl phailāndū. Mērō chamakdē girrōsō,
Water-on houses-on trees-on my rays spread. My light fallen,
 sab chijē khapsūrat awar rōsāñi najar āndī. Maĩ yurō-ku ujālō dēndū,
all things beautiful and shining sight go. I you-to light give,
 awar dhūp bī maĩ-ch dēndū. Maĩ phalāri awar anāj pakāndū. Maĩ
and sunshine also I-alone give. I fruit and corn ripen. I
 asmānō-mā bahut khuñchō hñ. Sabī dzhādāñ-dē dōngarāñ-dē abar-dē
sky-in much high am. All trees-than mountains-than clouds-than
 maĩ khuñchō hñ.
I high am.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Boy, do you know who I am and what my name is? I come from the east. The moment I come, the day breaks. When it is time for you to get up, I stretch forth my golden hand through your window and awake you. I don't come to see you lying in bed. I come that you should be up and bathe, read your books and go to school. I am a fast traveller. I take but one day to travel round the whole sky. I am never tired nor do I ever halt. I have a shining gold crown upon my head. I throw its light in all directions. I spread my rays over water, houses and trees. All things that are lit up by me look beautiful and brilliant. I give you light as well as heat. I ripen fruit and corn. I am very high in the sky. I am high up above trees, clouds and mountains.

KUCHBANDHĪ.

The Kuchbandhīs are a subdivision of the Kanjars. They make the *kūch*, or brush used by weavers for cleaning thread, and also apply themselves to other of the usual occupations of the Kanjars. A specimen of the so-called Kuchbandhī dialect has been forwarded from the Bahraich District of the United Provinces, the principal language of which is Awadhī. The first lines of it will, however, be sufficient to show that this Kuchbandhī simply is a mixture of Awadhī and Rājasthānī of the same kind as ordinary Kanjarī. Note the genitive suffix *rō* and the word *gihar*, man. Some remarks about the argot of the Kuchbandhīs will be found in Mr. Kirkpatrick's paper quoted under Authorities above on p. 97. It is of exactly the same kind as the secret language of other Kanjars, and, like similar argots, it is called Pārsī, or, according to Mr. Kirkpatrick, Pāsī.

[No. 37.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

KUCHBANDHI DIALECT.

DISTRICT BAHRAICH.

Ēk gihar-kē dui batrā rahin. Arō-mā-tē chhōṭkawā batrū aprē
One man-of two sons were. Them-in-from younger son own
 bāpū-tē kahis ki, 'hē bāpū, kōhri-mā jaun hamrō hīsā hōē
father-to said that, 'O father, property-in which my share may-be
 taun bātū dēō.' Tab-hī bāt dīnhō. Thōrē din bitrē
that dividing give.' Then dividing was-given. Few days passed
 chhōṭkawā batrū sab hīsā aprō jamā kinhō ēk mulkō-rō
younger son all share own together made one country-of
 pardēsō chal gayō au uhā aprō mālō chalākī-mā urā
foreign-place going went and there own property wickedness-in wasting
 dīnhō. Jab kaurī nahī rah gayō tabē ū mulkō-mā
was-given. When a-cowrie not remaining went then that country-in
 barō kāl pirō. Tab ū garīb hōnō lagrō aur ū mulkō-rō ēk
big famine fell. Then he poor to-be began and that country-of one
 basaiā-kō ghar kām karnō lagrō. Ū arō-kō i kahis ki,
inhabitant-of in-house work to-do began. He him-to this said that,
 'khētan-mā suar char liāo.'
'fields-in swine tending take.'

NAṬĪ.

The Naṭs are dancers, acrobats and prostitutes and they are found scattered over a wide area. Their total number as returned at the Census of 1911 was 126,428, distributed as follows :—

Number of Naṭs.	Assam	5,143
	Bengal	9,979
	Bihar and Orissa	5,651
	Central Provinces and Berar	11,385
	United Provinces	68,376
	Central India Agency	10,090
	Rajputana Agency	8,447
	Elsewhere	7,357
TOTAL		126,428

The name Naṭ is a Prakrit-Sanskrit word and means 'dancer,' 'actor.' It does not connote any definite tribe but comprises many different clans, who are only linked together by their common occupation. Numerous names of sub-tribes have been returned from the various districts. Thus we find Baisiyās and Banjārās in Mainpuri, Bēriyās in Etawah, Brijbāsis, who state that they come from Braj, in Bahraich, Pahāri Bhābars in Rampur, Pastos, Tasmabāz, and so forth. This simply means that any tribe may be represented among the people acting as Naṭs.

In such circumstances we cannot expect to find a separate language spoken by the Naṭs. In the information collected for the purposes of this Survey there figures a Naṭ language, returned under the name of *naṭō-kī bōlī*; with or without specifying additions such as Brijbāsi-Pastō, etc. The figures are as follows :—

Bengal	4,584
Bhagalpur	4,584
United Provinces	6,950
Aligarh	250
Mainpuri	2,000
Etawah	400
Bijnor	1,000
Rampur	300
Kheri	2,500
Bahraich	500
<hr/>	
TOTAL	11,534

The specimens received from the districts, however, show that there is no such dialect as Naṭī. The various clans classed together under the head of Naṭs speak the dialect of their neighbours. Like many other wandering tribes, however, they have a professional argot, made up by disguising ordinary words in the same way as in Criminal Sāsī. This argot has

Naṭ Argot.

nothing to do with grammar. The underlying dialect is either the ordinary vernacular or a mixture of forms derived from different dialects, such as we might reasonably expect in the mouth of travelling professionals who roam over a wide area and who are recruited from more than one tribe or clan. The specimens printed below will, however, show that the dialect of the Naṭs of the United Provinces contains an unmistakable admixture of Rājasthānī. Thus we find forms such as *baṭrā*, sons; *baṭrā-nē*, by the son, in addition to the regular *baṭrē-nē*, by the son; *gayō*, went; and *lilpā*, went, in Mainpuri, and so forth. Some few details will be mentioned later on. It therefore seems as if those Naṭs whose speech is represented in our specimens have come from or at least spent some time in Rajasthan. The specimens will, however, also show that these Rājasthānī features are too few and too little thoroughgoing to justify us in classing Naṭī as even a debased form of Rājasthānī. What is meant under the denominations *Naṭī* and *Naṭō kī bōlī* is not a definite dialect but the professional argot of the Naṭs.

As in the case of Sāsī the argot of the Naṭs contains several peculiar words such as *bōrā*, boy; *būnā*, *chhañ*, water; *chhumkar*, day; *chilapnā*, go; *dimnā*, *dūtnā*, eat; *gēm*, *gaim*, thief; *kājā*, cultivator, squire; *khollā*, house; *khum*, mouth; *lugnā*, die; *lōd*, *nāḍ*, bull; *nāl*, night; *tiyārgā*, that (person or thing) concerned; *ṭōgnā*, drink; *ṭunḍā*, pig, and so forth. Most of such words are known from other argots and dialects such as Sāsī and cannot yet be explained etymologically. Some such terms taken down from the mouth of some Tasmabāz residents of Cawnpore have been printed on pp. 314-316 of the *Selections from the Government Records North Western Provinces and Oudh*, Vol. i. 1862.

The great majority of Naṭī slang words, however, have been taken from the common Aryan vocabulary of Northern India. To prevent outsiders from understanding them, they are then disguised in the same way as in the argot of the Sāsīs and others. One and the same word can be made unrecognizable in several ways and accordingly assume many different forms.

I have not noted any certain instances of mere transposition. Compare, however, *khum*, mouth (Bijnor); *chūbkā* = *bachchā*, young (Mainpuri).

The prefixing of a consonant, which then often supersedes an old initial, on the other hand, is very common.

A *k* is prefixed in forms such as *kōṭ*, eighth (Rampur); *kōdmī*, man; and substituted for an initial *b* in *kāṭ*, share (Mainpuri). *Kh* is much more common. Compare *khi-mālai*, property; *khimērā*, my; *khandar*, inside; *khakāl*, famine; *khōṭā*, small; *khin*, day; *khētai*, belly; *khaināi*, having put on; *khād*, after; *khujhē*, me (all from Mainpuri); *khachchī*, water; *khunaddī*, river; *khapānī*, water; *khaddā*, big one, Sir; *khakhēdiā*, wolf (all from Bijnor); *khanēṭ*, belly (Rampur), and so forth.

Ch is substituted for an old labial in words such as *chakar*, seize, Hindōstānī *pakar*; *khacholtē*, speaking, cf. Hindōstānī *bōlnā*, in the Bijnor specimens. *Chh* is similarly used in words such as *chhūkal*, hungering; *chhulk* = *mulk*, country (Mainpuri); *chhōd* = *bakut*, much (Rampur), etc. The soft palatals are also used as substitutes for labials in *jaṭup* = *bāṭā*, share; *jaṛā* = *barā*, big (Rampur); *jhurā* = *burā*, evil; *jhāiyā* = *bhaiyā*, brother (Mainpuri), but also in cases such as *jhēk*, one; *jhakāl*, famine (Bhagalpur).

Of dental substitutes we may note *thāmnē* = *sāmnē*, before (Rampur), and the frequent use of *n*, *nh*; thus, *nēt* = *khēt*, field; *nāttī* = *chhātī*, breast; *nautāj* = *mohtāj*, wanting; *namā* = *samā*, together (Mainpuri); *nichhē* = *pichhē*, after; *nanmēśwar* = *parmēśwar*, God; *nāth* = *sāt*, seven; *nū* = *tū*, thou; *nē* = *thē*, were; *nhē* = *chhē*, six (Rampur), and so forth.

Of labials we may note, *ph* in *phēr*, three (Rampur); *b* in forms such as *bēg*, one; *bithē*, to him (Mainpuri); *bōr* = *aur*, and; *būkī*, watchman (Rampur); and *m* in words such as *mahā* = *kahā*, said; *myō* = *kyū*, why? *māhtā* = *chāhtā*, wishing; *miār* = *pyār*, love; *māt* = *bād*, after, and so forth in the Mainpuri specimens. The form *marluk*, dead, is probably of another kind, the base *mar* being prefixed to the base *lug*, to die. In some of the Mainpuri specimens the old initial which has been replaced by *m* is subsequently added at the end of the word; thus, *mētkhē* = *khēt*, field; *musikhē* = *khusi*, merry; *mōṭāchhē-nē* = *chhōṭē-nē*, by the younger one; *mēṭēbē* = *bēṭē*, sons; *māpbē* = *bāp*, father; *mērātē* = *tērā*, thy; *muarsē* = *sūar*, swine, and so forth.

Of other substitutes we may note *l* in *lilpā* = *chalā*, went; *lalchālī* = *badchālī*, bad conduct (Mainpuri); *r* in *rān* = *kān*, ear; *rahat* = *khēt*, field (Rampur); *rōṭka* = *chhōṭā*, small; *rabṭhō* = *sab*, all (Bhagalpur), and so on. *R* is also used instead of *g* in the List of Words and Sentences from Rampur printed below on pp. 180ff., in the word *tiyārgī rāē*, cow, where *rāē* corresponds to Hindōstānī *gāe*, while *tiyārgī* is a pronoun meaning 'that thing just mentioned.'

As in the case of other argots we also find words disguised by means of additions at the end. Note forms such as *khēṭai* = *pēt*, belly; *khimālai* = *māl*, property (Mainpuri); *labā* = *lab*, direction (Bijnor), and several consonantal additions. Such are, *k* and *g* in forms such as *kaugā* and *kōkā*, said; *gaugā*, went; *raugā*, stayed; *paugā*, got (Mainpuri); *ch* and *j* in *hōchā*, was (Rampur); *kujā*, made (Bijnor); cerebrals in forms such as *lagāḍnā*, to apply (Bijnor); *lugārṇā*, to beat (Rampur); *puchhuārō*, asked (Mainpuri); *t* in forms such as *khābāptā*, father (Etawah); *p* in verbs such as *deppō*, give; *lilpā*, went; *ligpāi*, applying; *karpā*, made (Mainpuri), and so on. Note also *dhūr* = *dō*, two; *bāpsā-kē*, of the father (Rampur); *kūlnā*, to do, and the curious forms *jālurnā*, go; *ālurnā*, come (Mainpuri); *ālre*, came (Rampur); *jāsurā*, going (Rampur); *āsrā*, came (Bijnor), and so forth.

It will be seen from the figures given above on p. 121 that most speakers of Naṭī in the United Provinces have been returned from the western part of the Province, from Etawah in the south to Bijnor in the north. We are comparatively best informed about the state of affairs in Mainpuri. There are several tribes in the district who make use of the Naṭ slang, such as the Baisiyās, the Banjārās, the Habūras, the Kanjars and the Kalabāz. The base is apparently everywhere the current Hindōstānī dialect with a tissue of Rājasthānī. This element has not been organically mixed up with the underlying Hindōstānī, but Rājasthānī forms are occasionally used side by side with the ordinary ones. Thus we find instances of the nominative in *ō*, the oblique base in *ā* and the plural in *ā* of strong masculine bases; compare *rajēṭṭō chīndā hoichchō*, there was a rich man, but commonly forms such as *jharā baṭrā hoichchā*, the big son was (in the fields); *baṭrā-nē* and *baṭrē-nē*, by the son; *dhōr baṭrā hoichchē*, there were two sons, and so forth. The version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son which follows well illustrates this form of speech. It has been taken down from the mouth of a Baisiyā.

[No. 38.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (BAISIYĀ).

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT MAINPURI.

Bēg rajēttē-kē dhōr baṭrā hoichchē. Uthi-mē-thi khōṭē baṭrā-nē
One man-of two sons were. Them-in-from small son-by
 chhūarā-thi kaugā ki, 'ēyō chhūarā, khimālai-kā khissā khimērā
father-to it-was-said that, 'O father, property-of share mine
 hoichchā hai thō khujhē deppi deppō.' Tō tabi uthi-nē khimālai-kī
becoming is that me having-given give.' And then him-by property-of
 kāt kullī deppā. Thōrē khinō-kē khād khōṭē baṭrē-nē sabi
shares having-made was-given. Few days-of after small son-by all
 kuchh namā kull-kē bēg dūr-kī khulk-kō līpā. Wahā khapnā
whatever together having-made one distant country-to went. There own
 khimālai kuchālī khurāē deppā. Aur jabī sabi
property in-bad-conduct having-wasted was-given. And when all
 hoichchī gaugā uthi khulk-mē jharā khakāl hoichchā, aur wah
having-ceased went that country-in big famine became, and he
 nautāj hoichchī gaugā. Tabi uthi khulk-kā bēg rajēttō chindā
in-want having-become went. Then that country of one man rich
 hoichchō, jithi-kē wah ligpi jālurā. Aur uthi-nē uthi-kō khapnē
was, whom-of he employed went. And him-by him own
 nētō-mē ṭaundā dimānē-kō khuṭai deppā. Aur wah lūṭā
fields-in swine feeding-for having-sent was-given. And he dying
 hoichchā ki uthi chhilkō-thē jō ṭaundā dimmatā hoichchā, khapnā
became that those husks-from which pig eating was, own
 khēṭai jharī leppā, kī kōi uthē deppatā khatī hoichchā.
belly having-filled may-take, as anyone him giving not was.
 Jabī khōs-mē ālurā, kaugā, 'khimērē chhūarā-kē khitnē kōdmī
When sense-in came, it-was-said, 'my father-of so-many men(-to)
 ṭāwālī hoichchatī hai; māi chhūkal lūṭā hū. Māi khuṭh-kē khapnē
bread becoming is; I by-hunger dying am. I having-arisen own
 chhūarā pās līpūgā aur uthi-thē kaugūgā ki, "ēyō chhūarā, māi-nē
father near will-go and him-to will-say that, "O father, me-by
 khagās-kā aur tērā jhurā kullā; abī ithi nāik khatī rahyō hoichchā
heaven-of and of-thee sin was-done; now this fit not remained at

ki tērā baṭrā kaugī deppī jālurō. Khujhē khapnē
that thy son having-said having-given I-may-go. Me own
kōdmī-mē-thē bēg-kī nāfik khaṇāi leppō.”” Tabī khuṭh-kē khapnē
men-in-from one-of like having-taken take.”” Then having-arisen own
chhūarā pās lilpā. Aur wah abī dūr hoichchā ki uthī-kō naukhtē
father near went. And he yet far was that him seeing
khī uthī-kē chhūarā-kō miār ālurā, aur lilp-kē uthī-kō nātti-thē
immediately him-of father-to love came, and having-gone him breast-to
ligpāi leppā aur uthī-kē khitnē khīṭā leppī leppā.
having-clasped was-taken and him-of so-many kisses having-taken were-taken.
Baṭrē-nē uthī-thī kaugā ki, ‘ēyō chhūarā, māī-nē khagās-kā aur
Son-by him-to it-was-said that, ‘O father, me-by heaven-of and
tērā jhurā kullā, aur khatī ki phir tērā baṭrā kōi kaugē.’
of-thee sin was-done, and it-is-not that again thy son anyone may-call.’
Chhūarā-nē khapnē kōdmīyō-thī kaugī deppā ki, ‘chindā chindā
Father-by own men-to having-said it-was-given that, ‘good good
ṭupkē leppī ālurō, aur uthī deppī deppō; aur uthī-kī
clothes having-taken come, and to-him having-given give; and him-of
khaṅguri-mē khaṅgūṭhī aur uthī-kē pāw-mē rēwriyā khaināi deppō; aur
finger-on ring and him-of feet-on shoes having-put-on give; and
hamī dimmē aur nusi khaṇāē ki yah. mērā baṭrā luḡī jālurā
we may-eat and merry may-make as this my son having-died gone
hoichchē, thō chindā ālurā; hurā bī khatī hoichchē jānē kiyā
was, he alive came; anywhere even not is to-know where
gaugī rā, abī ālurā hoichchē.’ Tabī nusi kullnē raugā.
having-gone stayed, now come is.’ Then merry to-make began.

Aur uthī-kā jharā baṭrā nēṭō-mē hoichchā. Jabī khakān-kē-tē ālurā
And him-of big son fields-in was. When house-of-near came
aur khinch-kī khawāj namjā, tabī bēg kōdmī-kō kaugā ki, ‘yē
and dancing-of sound was-heard, then one man-to it-was-said that, ‘this
kyā hoichchā hai?’ Aur uthī-nē bithē kaugā ki, ‘tērā jhaiyā
what become is?’ And him-by to-him it-was-said that, ‘thy brother
ālurā hoichchē, aur tērē chhūarā-nē jharī chindī dimmnā-kō kullā hai ki
come is, and thy father-by very good feasting-for made is as
bithē chindā ālurā naukhā.’ Uthī-nē kiṭṭhā hoichchī gaugā ki
him well come was-seen.’ Him-bu angry having-become went that
bith khakān-kē khandar khatī jālurē. Tabī uthī-kē chhūarā-nē biyā-thē
that house-of inside not will-go. Then him-of father-by there-from
ālur-kē uthī namjāyā. Uthī-nē chhūarā-thī cheṭō-mē kauga,
having-come him it-was-entreated. Him-by father-to answer-in it-was-said,

'naukh, itnē baras-thē maĩ tēri nidmat kulltā hoichchũ, aur khadī
'see, so-many years-from I thy service doing am, and ever
 tērē kaugnē-thī khattī khatī kullā, ki tū-nē khadī bēg khakriyā-kā
thy order-from no not was-done, that thee-by ever one she-gout-of
 chūbkā khujhē khatī deppā, ki khapnē khiyāwrō-kē saṅgi nusi
young-one to-me not was-given, that own friends-of with merry
 kullnō. Aur jab tērā yah batrā ālurō jithī-nē tērā khimālāi
to-make. And when thy this son came whom-by thy property
 rajēttiyo-mē khurāi deppā, tū-nē uthī-kē mātthē jharī
women-among having-wasted was-given, thee-by him-of for-the-sake very
 chindā dimmnē-kō kullā.' Uthī-nē uthī kaogā, 'ēyō batrē, tū
good feasting-for was-made.' Him-by to-him it-was-said, 'O son, thou
 sadā mērai pās hoichchā hai, aur jō-kuchh mērā hoichchē, thē tērā
always of-me near become art, and whatever mine is, that thine
 hoichchē. Ki nusi hōnā nājim hoichchē ki tērā yah jhaiyā lugā
is. But merry to-be proper is as thy this brother dead
 hoichchā, thē chindā ālurā; aur hurā bī khatī hoichchā, thē abī
was, he well came; and anywhere even not was, he now
 ālurā hoichchē.'
come is.'

The specimen which follows represents the same kind of Hindōstānī mixed with Rājasthānī. Compare Rājasthānī forms such as *khus-kō barō mēṭābē* (i.e. *bēṭā*), his younger son; *māp̄bai*, i.e. *bāpai*, by the father; *mājūrā-kō*, to the servants; *bhayō-chhā*, had become; *rauchhũ*, I remain; *mahō* and *mahā*, said, and so on. Most forms are, however, ordinary Hindōstānī. The specimen has been taken down from the mouth of a Baisiyā. It differs from the preceding one in the common practice of suffixing the original initial of disguised words; thus, *mānēgā*=*gānē*, singing; *mūtājū*=*jūtā*, shoe, and so forth.

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (BAISIYĀ).

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT MAINPURI.

Khēk makassē dōs mēṭēbē thē. Un-mā-sē mōṭāchhē-nē
One man-to two sons were. Them-in-from younger-by
 mahā, 'māpbē, khimāl-kā khissā khimērā mujhē dē.' Tab
it-was-said, 'father, property-of share mine to-me give.' Then
 us-nē khimāl unhē māṭi diyā. Thōrai din-kē māt
him-by property to-them dividing was-given. Few days-of after
 mōṭōchhē mēṭēbē sab-kō mahāj kar-kē khēk dūr-kī chhulak-kō
younger son all together having-done one distant country-to
 mupērsē kiya. Wabhā apnā māl ladchālī khurpāyā.
journey was-made. There own property in-bad-conduct was-squandered.
 Jab sab mir-chukā-kir-chukā us chhulak-mē barā khakāl parā.
When all had-been-wasted-away that country-in big famine fell.
 Khus chhulak-mē khēk khirais-kē yahā khajā lagā.
That country-in one squire-of place having-gone was-employed.
 Khus-nē khusē khapnē mētkhē muarsē charāban gōchū. Wah
Him-by him own in-fields swine to-feed it-was-sent. He
 māhtā thā khi khun mirkāchhē jō muarsē matēkhē, apnā
wishing was that those husks which swine eat, own
 maitayai bharē, khi kōi khusē na dētā thā. Jab
belly may-fill, that anyone him not giving was. When
 hōsh-mē bhayō-chhā, mahā ki, 'merē māpbē-kē mājūrā-kō
sense-in become-had, it-was-said that, 'my father-of servants-to
 bahut kharōṭi haī. Khimaī bhūkhō martā hū. Khimaī
much breads are. I with-hunger dying am. I
 khuṭh-kē apnē māpbē-kē pās jāūgā aur khusē kahūgā, "ai
having-arisen own father-of near will-go and to-him will-say, "O
 māpbē, khāsmān-kā khaur mērātē munāgai kiya; ab is
father, heaven-of and of-thee sin was-done; now this
 laik naithū rōchhū khi tērā mēṭābē kahlayū; mujhē apnē
fit not am that thy son may-be-called; me own
 mājūrā-mē khēk-sā banā." Tabkhī khuṭh-kē apnē māpbē-kē
servants-in one-like make." Then having-arisen own father-of

pās gayō-chhū. Wah abhī khudūr hatō, khusē lakh-kē
near went. He yet far was, him having-seen
 khus-kē māpbē khirahm bhayō ; khidaur-kē usai malēgē
him-of to-father pity became ; having-run him to-neck
 khilagāi layō aur bahut khimōmāchē. Mēṭēbē-nē khus
having-clasped was-taken and much kissed. Son-by to-him
 kōkā, 'ai māpbē, mē-nē agās-kā aur khitērē-kā munāgai
it-was-said, 'O father, me-by heaven-of and thee-of sin
 kiya ; is kābil naithū rauchhū ki tērā mēṭābē
was-done ; this worth not am that thy son
 kahlayū. Māpbai apnē nōkarō-kō mahā ki,
I-may-be-called. By-the-father own servants-to it-was-said that,
 'achchhī achchhī mōsākayē khinikās lāō, usē mahdhāē
'good good dresses having-taken-out bring, him putting-on
 dō, khus-kē khāth-mē khāngūthī aur mābyē-mē mūtājū mahdhāē
give, him-of hand-on ring and foot-on shoes putting-on
 dō, aur ham musikhē manāē, myō-ki mērō mēṭābē islūk
give, and we merry may-make, because my son dead
 gayō hatō, ab muji gayō ; mōkhāē gayō, ab milē gayō.
gone was, now alive went ; lost went, now found went.'
 Tab wē musikhē karnē lagē.
Then they merry to-make began.
 Khus-kō barō mēṭābē mēṭakhē-mē hatō. Jab marghē-kē
Him-of big son field-in was. When house-of
 nazdik āyō mānēgā aur ginchō-bartō-kī awāz sulpī.
near came singing-of and dancing-of sound was-heard..
 Tab khēk khinōkar bulākē puchhwārō ki, 'yah kai
Then one servant having-called it-was-asked that, 'this what
 hai ?' Khus-nē khusē mahō ki, 'tērā mabhāi āyō ;
is ?' Him-by to-him it-was-said that, 'thy brother came ;
 hus-kī tērā māpbē-nē barī māfat karī, is liyē ki
him-of thy father-by big feast was-made, this for that
 bhalō māngōchi pāyō. Mussā ki, na chāhā khandar
good sound was-got. Anger was-made, not wished inside
 ki jāē. Tab khus-kē māpbē-nē khimanpāyā. Khun-nē
that may-go. Then him-of father-by was-remonstrated. Him-by
 bāp-nē jāwāb mēlō ki, 'lakh, itnē marasbē tērī
father-to answer was-given that, 'see, so-many years thy
 mijbat karpātō, khabhū tērē khukm-kē mubarkhilāf na chālē.
service doing-was, ever thy order-of against not went..

Tū-nē kabhi khaik makarbi-kā bachchā na diyā ki
Thee-by ever one goat-of young-one not was-given that
 apnē mōstdē-kē māsthē musikhē manāyũ. Jab yah mētābē
own friends-of with merry might-make. When this son
 tērā āyō jā-nē tērā māl mēshyāē-mē urāyō, tū-nē
thy came whom-by thy property harlots-among was-casted, thee-by
 khus-kē liyē baṛī māftaj karpī. Khus-nē khus-sē
him-of sake-for big feast was-made. Him-by him-to
 lōpī, 'ai mētēbē, tū sadā mērē māsyai hai, aur
it-was-said, 'O son, thou always of-me near art, and
 jō-kuchh mērā hai sō khitērā hai. Khimusikhē manānā
whatever mine is that thine is. Merry to-make
 khisuskhē hōnā marūrjē thā, myũ-ki tērā yah mabhāi marluk
happy to-be necessary was, because thy this brother dead
 gayō, sō mijiyāō ; aur mukhāē gayō thō, sō ab milyō
went, he revived ; and lost gone was, he now found
 hai.
 is.'

A third specimen from the Mainpuri District, which has been forwarded under the head of Naṭī, is of the same kind as the preceding one. It contains the statement of a Naṭ about a theft.

[No. 40.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ.

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT MAINPURI.

Mōrich bhai; us-n.ẽ khaik mutiwā gaō chhō. Khaik mariwa
Theft was; that-in one kettle lost was. One jug
 gai chhē. Dō gamāri thē gaiē. Phir mānēthē-mē gayā.
lost was. Two plates were gone. Then police-station-in went.
 Mē-nē rapaṭ karpī jāi mānāthdār āyā likh
Me-by report having-made having-gone police-officer came writing
 likhāē-kē, phir marōgādi khapnē mānēthē-kō chalē
having-caused-to-be-written, then the-inspector own station-to moved
 gayē. Kachhlik nāyī mil-āyō. Marōgādi-kai māsthē chār sipāhi
went. Anything not being-found-came. Inspector-of with from soldiers
 tin maukichdār āyē thē. Mandrah wā solāh khādmī marōgādi-nē
three watchmen come were. Fifteen or sixteen men inspector-by
 khikkittē karpē tamānā-kī talāshī layī ki, 'is naṭ-kī
collected were-made house-of search was-taken that, 'this naṭ-of
 mōrich hō gai yā nāhī.' Khaik khādmī-nē un-mē-sē
theft having-become went or not.' One man-by them-in-from
 mahā ki, 'mē-rē mōrich kartē mēkhādē thē.
it-was-said that, 'me-by theft doing seen were.
 Makasbāy-sē miwāldē-māi khaidī phāi dayō,
Instrument-for-house-breaking-by wall-in hole having-broken was-given,
 us wakat gaimī karpāt thē, sō bāli bachchē jag parpāi.
that time theft doing were, then young children awaking got-up.
 'Tab gaim bhāj gayē.' Mānathdār-nē mērā khinsāf nāhī
Then thieves running-away went.' Police-officer-by of-me justice not
 kiya. Tabkhi mē-nē khidiptī sāhab-kē yahā kharjī dai.
was-done. Then me-by deputy sahib-of with petition was-given.
 Tab khidiptī sāhab-nē magwāh bulyāē aur khun-kā izhār
Then deputy sahib-by witnesses were-called and them-of statement
 paugā, 'sach lōpat ki mōrich bhāi ki nāhī bhāi.' Khimaī
was-got, 'truth tell that theft was or not was.' I
 hilkulkhi luṭ gayō. Khajūr mērā khinsāf nāhī karēgē,
wholly robbed went. Your-Honour of-me justice not will-make,
 tō māi mar jāūgā.
then I dying shall-go.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A theft has been committed, and one kettle, one jug, and two plates have been stolen. I went to the police station, and made a report. The police officer wrote it down. Then the Inspector went to his station. Nothing had been found. Four police soldiers and three watchmen had come with the Inspector. The Inspector then collected fifteen or sixteen men and searched the house to find out if a theft had been committed in my house or not. One of them said that he had seen the thieves at work. The wall had been broken by an instrument, and while they were stealing, the children woke and got up. The thieves then ran away. The police officer, however, did not do me justice, and so I filed a petition with the Deputy Commissioner. The Deputy Commissioner called witnesses and took their statement, asking them to tell the truth whether a theft had been committed or not. I have been totally robbed, and if your Honour will not do justice to me, I shall die.

The slang of the Nats of the Etawah district is of the same kind as that used in the neighbouring Mainpuri. Thus we find *bōhrā*, son, as in Hindōstānī, but *bōhrā*, sons. as in Rājasthānī, and so forth. It will be enough to print the beginning of a version of the Parable as illustration of this mixed speech.

[No. 41.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NAṬĪ (BĒRIYĀ).

SPECIMEN IV.

DISTRICT ETAWAH.

Kēhū tēhā-kē khadōē bōhrā thē. Uhi-mā-sē lahurā-nē
Some man-of two sons were. Them-in-from younger-by
 khabāptā-sē kahā, 'arē khabāptā, pūjī-māhī-sē jō hamārā
father-to it-was-said, 'O father, property-in-from which my
 nāṭṭīlī hōē uh ham-kā bāṭbē.' Tab uh-nē uh-kō apnī māyā
share may-be that me-to divide.' Then him-by him-to own wealth
 nāṭṭīlī kar dī. Bōhit din nāhī kaṭē ki lahurā
shares having-made was-given. Many days not passed that younger
 bōhrā sārī pūjī ikṭhī kar anthā chhāē
son all property together having-made another-country having-gone
 rahyō.
stayed.

The Naṭ argot used in the Rampur State is known under the name of Pahāri Bhābar. The admixture of Rājasthānī forms in the specimens received from the State is comparatively small. Compare, however, the alternative genitive suffix *rā, rī, rē*; the locative suffix *nē*; forms such as *mārā, māhrā, my*; *nō*, i.e. *thō*, or *thā*, I was; forms such as *rahā, rahlā, and rehlā*, was; *dīnī*, gave; *kīnī*, made, and the future suffixes *gā* and *rā*. Note also the aspirated letters in *gōghā*, went; *dudhtē*, eating; *dhōr*, two; *thēr*, three, etc. The character of this form of speech will be easily recognized from a perusal of the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable, the second a statement relating to a dacoity. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 180ff.

[No. 42.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NAṬĪ (PAHĀRĪ BHĀBAR).

SPECIMEN V.

STATE RAMPUR.

Bīk kudmī-kē dhōr nīklē rahlē. Khalōhrā-nē bāpsā-sē
 One man-of two sons were. Younger-by father-to
 kūkā ke, 'bāpsā, khaṭum-kā jaṭup mōhē dip-dēō.' Bōr
 it-was-said that, 'father, property-of share me-to give.' And
 bappā-nē dip-diyā. Nihōrgā khadin nīchhē khalōhrā nīklē-nē chhōd
 father-by was-given. Few days after younger son-by much
 bīkhtā kōrlā bōr khadūr-kē nidhwā-kū gōghā bōr khaṭum
 together was-made and distance-of country-to went and substance
 binālī-nē raharch hupī gōkī. Phin ōh nidhwā-kē bīk
 riotousness-in spent becoming went. Then that country-of one
 khamīr-kē rōhlē gōghā. Ōh-nē rahtō-nē ṭuṇḍā nukānē rahlē
 rich-man-of house went. Him-by fields-in pigs to-graze was-sent.
 Bōr ōhē khapiā rahli ke ōh kōbō-sē jō ṭuṇḍā dudhtē
 And his desire was that those husks-from which pigs eating
 haī āpan khanēṭ thēklē. Phin ōh-nē kūkā ke, 'mōhrē bāpsā-kē
 are own belly may-fill. Then him-by it-was-said that, 'my father-of
 chhīntē haī; uhaī ṭāoli haī; bōr mēh chhukā lugtā hū.
 servants are; to-them breads are; and I hungry dying am.
 Mēh āpan bāpsā-kē dhigē chilpūngā bōr ōh-sē kukūngā ke,
 I own father-of near will-go and him-to will-say that,
 "bāpsā, mēh-nē ākās bōr tōhrē thāmnē rasōr kēli;
 "father, me-by heaven and of-thee before sin was-made;
 ab mōhē āpnē chhīntē sāhī karbō." " Ōh bāpsā-kē
 now me own servant like make." " He father-of
 dhigē chilpā. Bōr ōh khadūr rahlē ke ōhē nūkh-kar
 near went. And he far was that him seen-having
 ōh-nē bāpsā-kū mōh āyā, bōr khaṭōng-kē ōhē rīchhā
 his father-to affection came, and having-run his neck
 lagē-liyā bōr chhōd rīchhā kilī. Bōr bāpsā āpan
 was-clasped and much caressing was-made. And father own
 chhīntō-sē kūkā ke, 'kuchhē kuchhē rīprē lēp-āō bōr
 servants-to it-was-said that, 'good good clothes bring and

ōhē nēhr-lāō, bōr ōh-kē khūt-nē ũṭhī bōr gōnā-nē gōhni nēhr-lāō ;
him put-on, and him-of hand-on ring and feet-on shoes put-on ;
 bōr ham dutē bōr rusī rōhōpō, ke māhrā nīklā
and we may-eat and merry may-be, that my son
 lūgā rahā, phin khājiri gōghā hai ; khajātā rahlā, phin khamlā
dead was, again alive gone is ; lost was, again found
 hai.' Bōr ōh rusī rōhpō lāgē.
is.' And they merry to-be began.

Bōr ōh-kā jarā nīklā rahat-nē rahā. Jab rōhlē-kē dhigē
And him-of big son field-in was. When house-of near
 āyā bōr khēchnē-kī chur nōhni. Bīk chhīntē-nu
came and dancing-of sound was-heard. One servant-to
 kūkā ke, 'ē hūp hai ?' Ōh-nē ōh-sē kūkā, 'tōhrā
it-was-said that, 'this what is ?' Him-by him-to it-was-said, 'thy
 bhaotā āyā hai, bōr tōhrē bāpsā-nē jarī dutnā kēli.' Ōh-nē
brother come is, and thy father-by big feast was-made.' Him-by
 rūse hupī gōghā khapiyānā ke rōhlē na chilpē. Ōh-kē
angry becoming went it-was-wished that house not may-go. Him-of
 bāpsā-nē khabāhar chilap-kar khamnāyā. Ōh-nē bāpsā-sē
father-by outside having-gone it-was-remonstrated. Him-by father-to
 kūkā, 'nūkh, chhōd khadin hupī gaē ke tōhri khamēti
it-was-said, 'see, many days having-become went that thy service
 kōli rahā ; bōr tōhrē kūknē-sē na chilpā. Tōh-nē bīk
doing remained ; and thy word-from not went. Thee-by one
 rēhibrī-kā bachchā bhī mōhē na dīni ke khyārō-kē hāth
goat-of young-one even to-me not was-given that friends-of with
 rusī rahpō. Bōr jō tēhrā ēh nīklā āyā jē tōhrā
merry might-be. And when thy this son came by-whom thy
 khaṭum paṭniyō-nē raharch hupī gōkī, tōh-nē ōh-kē liē
property harlots-to spent becoming went, thee-by him-of for-the-sake
 chhōd dūtnī kinī.' Ōh-nē kūkā ke, 'nīklē, tū sadā
big feast was-made.' Him-by it-was-said that, 'son, thou always
 mōhrē dhigē hai, bōr jō mēhrā hai, sō tōhrā hai.
of-me near art, and what mine is, that thine is.
 Phin rusī rōhōpnā bōr rusī hōnā rahlā, ke tōhrā
But merry to-make and merry to-be was, that thy
 bhaotā lūgā rahlā, phin khajimān hai ; bōr khajātā rahlā,
brother dead was, again alive is ; and lost was,
 khamlā hai.
found se.

[No. 43.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (PAHĀRĪ BHĀBAR).

SPECIMEN VI.

STATE RAMPUR.

Thēr mahinā-sē chhōd khadin bhaē ki kōdhi nāl-kū mährē
Three months-from many days were that half night-at my
rōhlē būlaṭ bhai. Mēh rōhlē-sē khabāhar nippar-nē nūj
in-house dacoity was. I house-from outside shed-in sleeping
rahā thā. Mēhri chhahan rōhlē-nē nūj rahi thī. Bik
staying was. My sister house-in sleeping staying was. One
kudmī mährē rāhaṭ-kī ḍhigē chilagṭā huā nukhā. Khōṭiṭhōgā,
man my bed-of near going become was-seen. I-rose,
ō-sē nūchhā, tō kūkā ke, 'būki hū.' Mēh
him-from it-was-asked, then it-was-said that, 'chaukidār am.' By-me
kūkā ke, 'ōh bōr kudmī hai.' Phin ōh chilap-gayā.
it-was-said that, 'he another man is.' Then he going-went.
Khadōrgā rihaprē nēhrē huē rēhlā. Phin nachis khatīs bōl
White clothes put-on become was. Then twenty-five thirty burglars
āē bōr kūkā ke, 'ham bulṭu hai.' Khandēri nāl rēhlī.
came and it-was-said that, 'we burglars are.' Dark night was.
Namañchā bōr tikhni leuṭhiā nandūkē sab khatiyār ōh-kē ḍhigē rahlē.
Pistol and sword sticks guns all weapons them-of near were.
Kōṭ chul nandūkō-kē bhaē. Mēh gōghāi parā. Bik nōhri
Eight fires guns-of became. I going fled. One knife
thīs-nē lugārī bōr leuṭhiā lugārī. Mēh nisht hupī gayā ke
head-on struck and sticks struck. I quiet becoming went that
lōth dārēgē. Phin bik kudmī tikhni liyē mēhrē ḍhigē reharā
killing may-throw. Then one man sword taken of-me near standing
rahā, bōr narwajjē-kā ruṇḍ nōrnē lagē. Nidhwē-kē ḍāmbhē chhōd
was, and door-of bolt to-break began. Village-of people many
bikhaṭṭē hupī gaē. Tō mēhrē ḍhigē-sē bōl chilpē gaē.
together becoming went. Then of-me near-from burglars going went.
Phin meh khiṇṭi-kē chilpā gayā, bōr nidhwē-nē billātā phirā
Then I having-run moved went, and village-in skouting went-about
ke, 'mēhrē rōhlē-nē bōl ālrē, rīgh chilpō.' Nēhblūanē
that, 'my house-in dacoits have-entered, quickly come! All-sides-from

bōl nandūkē lōhtē thē. Khādrā-kē mārē uṭhē kōī na
dacoits guns firing were. Fear-of on-account there anybody not
 jāsurṭā thā. Dhōr raṇṭhā tāī bulattē rahē. Phin chilpē gaē.
going was. Two hours for robbing were. Then moved went.
 Bus-kē nīcchē mēh rōhlē gōghā, nukhā ke khatālā nuṭā
That-of after I into-house went, it-was-seen that lock broken
 huā hai, khamāṭī rōdhilā-rī, dāmaiṣā-kī khaṭum khutārī
become is, earth dug-was, women-of property having-taken-out
 lī, bōr gahnā sab lipī gaē. Bikis
was-taken, and ornaments all having-taken had-gone. Twenty-one
 hajārē-kā khaṭum bulṭī-kē lipī gaē. Kāgad
thousand-of property having-robbed having-taken had-done. Paper
 dīppi diyā hai. Rīchhrā bōr nēṭhrē jalāē-kē
having-given given is. Quilts and stalks-of-juar-tree having-lighted
 bōlō-nē khujitā kī thī. Mēhrā jadhi-sē kāī kharāñj nahī
dacoits-by light made was. Of-me defendant-with any ill-feeling not
 hai, na un-kē bhaotē-sē. Mēh-nē kīsī bōl-kū nahī nehchānā.
is, not him-of brother-with. Me-by any dacoit not was-recognized.
 Mēh in bōlō-kū ke kachēriyā-nē rahē haī nahī nahchāntā.
I these dacoits who court-in standing are not know.
 Bōr jō khaṭum khīklē hōkē āyā hai, mēhrgā nahī
And which property recovered having-become come is, mine not
 hai. Bēk rahī tak mēhrē thāmnē mēhrā rōhlā bulattē rahē.
is. One hour for of-me before my house robbing remained.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

More than three months ago there was a dacoity in my house at midnight. I was sleeping in a shed outside the house, but my sister was sleeping in the house. I saw a man coming up to my bed, and on my asking him, he said that he was the watchman. I then said, 'that is another man.' Then he went off. He was wearing white clothes. Then some twenty-five or thirty dacoits came and said they were dacoits. The night was dark. They had all sorts of weapons, pistols, swords, sticks and guns, and eight guns were fired. I then fled, but was hit on the head with a knife and with sticks. I then kept quiet lest they should kill me. One man was standing near me with a sword, and started to break the bolt of the door open. Now many of the village people came together, and the dacoits left me. I ran into the village and went about shouting, 'dacoits have entered my house, come quickly.' From all sides the dacoits were firing guns, and nobody ventured to approach. They kept robbing for two hours, and then went off. After that I entered the house and saw that the lock had been broken, the soil dug up, the property of the women taken and all ornaments taken away. They had robbed

twenty-one thousand rupees' worth of property. I have given a list of it. The dacoits had burned quilts and straw and thus made a light. I have no ill-feeling against the defendant or against his brother. I did not recognize any one of the dacoits. I do not recognize those dacoits who are standing in court. The property which has been recovered is not mine. They were robbing my house in my presence for one hour.

The Naṭs in the Bijnor District base their argot on a dialect of the same kind as that spoken in Rampur. The Rājasthānī admixture is not very prominent. We may note forms such as *khabḍā* and *khabḍē*, O big one, Sir; *khabhēḍiā-kē*, of the wolf (but *khabhēḍiē-nē*, by the wolf); *āsrā*, they came, and so on. Note also future forms such as *jāgrā*, I will go; *kōguṅgā*, I will say; compare *Sāsī*. Another future formation is represented by *hōlā*, it will be. For further particulars the two specimens which follow should be consulted. The first is the beginning of a version of the Parable; the second a translation of the well-known tale about the wolf and the lamb.

[No. 44.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ.

SPECIMEN VII.

DISTRICT BIJNOR.

Kisī kōdmī-kē dō nōbdē thē. Chhōtē nōbdē-nē bābā-sū
Some man-of two sons were. Small son-by father-to
 kahī ki, 'hamārā bāṭā bāṭi dē.' Us-nē apnē
it-was-said that, 'our share having-divided give.' Him-by own
 jīūdē-jī bāṭā diyā. Ghanē dinā nahī huē, chhōṭā nōbdā
living-of share was-given. Many days not were, small son
 sab khūbnā lē dūsre dēsā nasī gayā, aur wahā-sē
all goods having-taken another country going went, and there
 sahrā khūbnā khurmastī lagādnē-mē barābād kar diyā. Aur
all goods riotousness applying-in wasted making was-given. And
 sab nāngā kar chukā, sō ūthē mulkā-mē ghanā akrā
all spent making ceased, then there country-in mighty famine
 hō gayā. Jab lāchār khōkhā hōnē lagā, tab us
having-become went. When helpless poor to-be began, then that
 dēsā-kē kisī kōdmī-sē jā bhēṭā. Tab us-nē usē ṭuṇḍā
country-of some man-with going was-joined. Then him-by him swine
 chugānē bhējī diyā. Tab hōshā-mē ākē kōghā,
to-graze having-sent it-was-given. Then senses-in having-come it-was-said,
 'mērē bāpā-kē utnē mihantī-kō bahutā ōṭī haī, maī bhūkō
' my father-of so-many servants-to much breads are, I with-hunger
 mar chalpā. Maī ūṭhī-kē bāpā-kē pās jāgrā aur us-sē
dying went. I having-risen father-of near will-go and him-to
 kōguṅgā ki, "bāpā, hamī-nē āsmānē-kā tērē hazūr taksīrā
will-say that, "father, me-by heaven-of of-thee presence fault
 karā hai."'
done is."

[No. 45.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NAṬĪ.

SPECIMEN VIII.

DISTRICT BIJNOR.

Ek khunaddi baḍi napā thi. Uh-kē dhāngā-pā ēk-hī khabaktā
One river very clear was. That-of bank-to one-only at-time
 khabhēḍiā ō khabhēḍā-kā khabachchā dōṇō khapāni pinē āsrā.
wolf and sheep-of young-one both water to-drink came.
 Garmiā khabautā tui rōgi. Khadōṇō-kō khapyās lagī
Heat much having-fallen was. Both-to thirst having-become-attached
 rōgi thi. Khabhēḍiā uthē khadā khapāni tōgi rahā thā,
being was. Wolf there standing water drinking remaining was,
 uthē-sē thōḍi dūrā-par khabāo-kī tarfā khabhēḍā-kā khabachchā
there-from little distance-at current-of in-direction sheep-of young-one
 khapāni tōgi lagā. Khabhēḍiā-kē khumā khuluhū lagā huā
water drinking began. Wolf-of in-mouth blood smeared become
 thā, uh-kē khēdartē-hī khumā-mē khachchī ṭahuk āyā ; us-kē
was, him-of on-seeing-even mouth-in water filled came ; him-of
 dūtnē-kē liyē khajhagrā khūbā kiya. ‘ Ō bē-adbā,
eating-of for-the-sake quarrel much was-made. ‘ O disrespectful-one,
 tujhē ehī kulnā chāhiyē ki pāḍ-sē hilāi hilāi khapāni-kō gādlā
for-thee this to-do is-wanted that feet-by moving moving water dirty
 kultā hai, jī-kī wajah-sē ham pāni na tōg-sāi, khapyās-kē
making art, which-of cause-from I water not drinking-am, thirst-of
 khamārē marī chalpaī. Khubichārē khubachchē-nē jawābā
on-the-account dying may-go. Poor young-one-by answer
 diyā, ‘ khabḍā, kyā hukmā khadērtē hū ? Khapāni-kā khabāo
was-given, ‘ Sir, what order giving are ? Water-of current
 āpā-kī tarfā-sē mēri tarfā hai. Mēri labā-sē
self-of direction-from my in-direction is. My direction-from
 tēri labā-kō nahī jāē saktā. Tab khabhēḍiē-nē kaugā,
thy direction-to not go can. Then wolf-by it-was-said,
 ‘ nuhī-sahī, tū baḍō khumgrā hai ; khachchē mōs huē tan-nē
‘ never-mind, thou great scoundrel art ; six months become thee-by
 mujh-kō bariā gārīā dipī thī. Khubachchē-nē kaugā, ‘ khabḍā,
me-to gr at abuses given were. Young-one-by it-was-said, ‘ Sir,

kyā nachī khacholtē hō ? Maĩ tō abhī khachh mahinē-kā
what trouble speaking are ? I even now six months-of
hōpā nahī. Gāriā̃ kis-nē dēpi hōgi ? Khabhēdiē-nē kaugā,
become not. Abuses whom-by given may-be ? Wolf-by it-was-said,
‘ithā̃ tum-nē mah-kō gāriā̃ na dēpi hōgi, tau tumhārē bāpā-nē
‘here thee-by me-to abuses not given may-be, then thy father-by
dēpi hōgi. Ab nisāpā̃ yah hōelā ki apnē bāpā-kē kartabō-kā
given may-be. Now justice this will-be that own father-of deeds-of
dāḍā bhugti lō. Yah kaugi-kē khubachchē-kō chakar
punishment reaping may-take. This having-said young-one-of seizing
liyā aur tūk-tūk kar-kē tūmī liyā.
was-taken and piece-piece having-made eating was-taken.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A wolf and a lamb came at the same time to the bank of a clear river to drink water. It was very hot and both were thirsty. The lamb was drinking water a little distance downstream from where the wolf was standing and drinking water. The wolf was very bloodthirsty, and its mouth watered on seeing the sheep. He tried to raise a quarrel in order to get an opportunity of eating him. He said, ‘O impudent fellow, is it proper for you to make the water dirty by stirring it with your feet, so that I cannot drink it and may die from thirst?’ The poor lamb replied, ‘Sir, what do you command? The water flows from you to me and cannot flow from me to you.’ Then the wolf said: ‘never mind, you are a scoundrel; six months ago you abused me.’ Said the lamb, ‘how can this be true? I am not six months old. Who can have abused you?’ The wolf said: ‘if you did not abuse me, it must have been your father, and it is only just that you should be punished for the deeds of your father.’ After having said this he seized the lamb, tore it to pieces and ate it.

The Nats of the Bahraich District call themselves Brijbāsī and state that they have come from Braj. Their dialect seems to contain a larger admixture of Rājasthānī than we have hitherto found. It is, however, possible that the speech of the different Brijbāsīs differs according to their last habitat, and it would be unsafe to base far-reaching conclusions on one single specimen. The first lines of a version of the Parable will be sufficient to show its general character. It will be noticed that the Rājasthānī element is so strong that it can almost be characterised as the base of the dialect. The specimen does not, on the other hand, illustrate the artificial argot of the Nats with which we are here concerned.

[No. 46.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NAṬĪ (BRIJBĀSĪ).

SPECIMEN IX.

DISTRICT BARRAICH.

Ek	ādmī-rē	dui	chhōrā	chhē.	U-mhā-lē	nānhikē	chhōrā	
<i>One</i>	<i>man-of</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>sons</i>	<i>were.</i>	<i>Them-in-from</i>	<i>by-small</i>	<i>son</i>	
bāū-nē	kahiō,	‘uhō	bāū,	dhan	jaun	hamārō	hīsā	chhē
<i>father-to</i>	<i>it-was-said,</i>	<i>‘O</i>	<i>father,</i>	<i>property</i>	<i>which</i>	<i>my</i>	<i>share</i>	<i>is</i>
ham-nō	dai-dēō.’	Tabai	ū	dhan	ū-thaī	bāṭ	dīnhō.	
<i>me-to</i>	<i>give.’</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>property</i>	<i>him-to</i>	<i>having-divided</i>	<i>was-given.</i>	
Ujī	thōr	doūs	bitē	nānhikē	chhōrā	jamā-jāthrī	lē-kō	
<i>And</i>	<i>few</i>	<i>days</i>	<i>after</i>	<i>small</i>	<i>son</i>	<i>property</i>	<i>having-taken</i>	
pardēsan	chalō	gayō,	ujī	uttē	āprō	māl-jāl	sail-sūphī-mā	
<i>to-a-foreign-country</i>	<i>moved</i>	<i>went,</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>there</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>property</i>	<i>debauchery-in</i>	
urā-dīnō.								
<i>was-wasted.</i>								

The argot of the Naṭs of the Bhagalpur District is based on a mixture of Eastern Hindī and Hindōstānī with some Bengali forms. It will be sufficient to give the beginning of a version of the Parable in illustration of this jargon.¹

¹ It is worth noting that the ordinary language of Bhagalpur is Bihārī, a form of speech quite different from Hindī.—
G. A. G.

[No. 47.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ.

SPECIMEN X.

DISTRICT BHAGALPUR.

Jhēkē	kudmī-kē	dhūr	rawāil	rahē.	Rōṭkā	rawāil	apnē		
One	man-of	two	sons	were.	Small	son	own		
dugwā-sē	kutāis	jē,	'sab	tiḥā	masil	mērā	jhakhrā		
father-to	said	that,	'all	wealth	money	my	share		
batkhlālapā.'	Dugwā	sab	tiḥā	masil	dhūrō.	rawāil-kē	jhāṭ		
divide.'	Father	all	wealth	money	two	sons-of	shares		
dihis.	Thōrācha	jhād	rōṭkā	rawāil	apnā	sab	masil	gaṅg	
gave.	Short	after	small	son	own	all	money	pice	
lē-kē	jhārī	dūr	ralī	gapāil.	Wahā	sab	masil	gaṅg	
having-taken	very	far	going	went.	There	all	money	pice	
rahūli-mē								harlots-in	
dharāb-kar	dihis.	Jab	us-kā	rabṭhō	marchā	hō	geā,	tab	
spent-making	gave.	When	him-of	all	spent	becoming	went,	then	
us	dēs-mē	jhārī	jhakāl	parpāil,	ō	ū	bayitē-mē	dharib	hō
that	country-in	great	famine	fell,	and	he	food-in	poor	becoming
gañl.	Tab	wah	jhēkē	kājā	raṅgh	rahēkē	gañl.	Kājā	
went.	Then	he	one	gentleman	with	to-remain	went.	Gentleman	
us-kō	apnē	nēthā-mē	rūkar	charānē-kō	bhējis.	Naslāē	rūkar-kē	bētnī	
him	own	field-in	swine	feeding-for	sent.	Husks	pigs-of	food	
bhī	milpāit,	tō	ū	apan	chuṭkāi	chīdhā	bhai-kē		
even	would-have-got,	then	he	own	belly	glad	having-become		
laurit.	Jab	wah	apnē	kihā	dharpā,	apnē	man-mē	chhōkē	
would-have-filled.	When	he	own	sense	held,	own	mind-in	to-say	
lagā	jē,	'hamarē	dugwā-kē	kitnē	khēotāhā-kē	etnā	dōmkā	hai	
began	that,	'my	father-of	how-many	servants-of	so-much	bread	is	
ke	wah	apnē	bayitē	haī	ō	dūsar-kē	bayitātē	haī,	ō
that	they	self	eating	are	and	others-of	feeding	are,	and
I									
bhūkan	dhimī	jāilā.	Ham	apnē	dugwā	raṅgh	jāisi	ō	kutāisi
by-hunger	eating	go.	I	own	father	near	will-go	and	will-say
jē,	"ē	dugwā,	ham	tērā	khahut	bējāē	kiyā,	ō	ham
that,	"O	father,	by-me	of-thee	many	faults	were-done,	and	I
thy									
rahūlā	chhōkē	jōkar	naipī	hapāil;	apnē	nāhar-mē	khēotā	rakhpā."	
am	to-be-called	fit	not	became;	own	presence-in	servant	keep."	

DŌM.

The Dōms are a menial caste belonging to what Sir Herbert Risley calls the Dravidian type. It is not uniform but comprises several variations and sub-castes. Some Dōms supply fire at cremation or act as executioners; others are scavengers, and some have taken to basket and cane working. The Dōms in the Himalayan districts have gained a fairly respectable position as husbandmen and artisans, while the wandering Magahiya Dōms of Bihar are professional thieves.

The Dōms are numerous in Assam, Bengal, the United Provinces and Kashmir.

Number.

The following are the figures returned at the Census of 1911:—

Assam	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	80,412
Bengal	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	173,991
Bihar and Orissa	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	241,903
Central Provinces and Berar	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	9,344
Panjab	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	79,916
United Provinces	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	333,781
Kashmir State	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	52,099
Elsewhere	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4,374
											Total . 925,820

To these may be added the following, shown in the Census under the names of **Bansphôr** and **Basôr** :—

Central Provinces and Berar	52,947
United Provinces	23,095
Baroda State	9
Central India Agency	52,465
TOTAL .	<u>128,516</u>

Giving a grand total for Dōms under all names of 1,054,336.

The common name of the caste is Ḍöm or Ḍömṛā, a word of uncertain origin.

Name.

According to the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa* a *Ḍama* is the son of a *lēta* and a *chāṇḍālī*, and *Ḍama* is perhaps the same

word as *Ḍōma*. The *ḍōmas* or *ḍōmbas* are mentioned in Sanskrit literature as living by singing and music. The form *ḍōmba* seems to be the oldest one. It occurs in Varāhamihira's *Bṛīhatsaṃhitā* (lxxvii. 33), which belongs to the sixth century, and several times in Sanskrit works hailing from Kashmir such as the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Sōmadēva and the *Rājataranginī* of Kalhaṇa. There cannot be any doubt that these *ḍōmbas* are identical with the *Ḍōms*, and the name of the caste is accordingly old. The base from which it is derived is perhaps onomatopœic ; compare Sanskrit *ḍam*, to sound ; *ḍamaru*, drum. It is probably not Aryan.

The late Professor Hermann Brockhaus of Leipzig was the first to suggest that the word *dōm* might be identical with the name *rōm*, which the European Gipsies use

AUTHORITIES—

LEITNER, G. W.,—*Words and Phrases illustrating the Dialects of the Samé and Mé as also of Dancers, Mirásis and Dôms.* Appendix to "Changars" and Linguistic Fragments. Lahore, 1882. Civil Secretariat Press, pp. v and ff.

Language.

Language. a dialect of their own, but use the speech of their neighbours. The words and phrases given by Abdul Ghafur belong to an argot of the same kind as that used by the Sāsīs. A similar remark applies to the Dōm dialect mentioned by Dr. Leitner. Neither his materials nor the sentences published by Abdul Ghafur are, however, sufficient for judging with certainty. According to information collected for the purposes of this Survey a dialect called Dōmrā was spoken in the following districts of Bihar and Orissa :—

Saran	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	9,500
Champanan	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4,000
TOTAL											13,500	

These figures refer to the argot of the Magahiṃyā Dōms, who derive their name Magahiṃyā from Magah, Magadha, where they assert that their original home was, or from *māg*, road. They are notorious thieves and bad characters and do not cultivate or labour if they can help it. Their women only make occasional basket work as a pretence, their part being that of the spy, informer and disposer of stolen property.

The estimates of the number of speakers of Ḍōmrā in Saran are certainly exaggerated. At the Census of 1911 the Ḍōms of Saran numbered only 8,606, and only a portion of these used the Ḍōmrā argot. The Ḍōms of Champaran numbered 7,662, and the estimates for that district are perhaps correct.

As shown by the specimens which follow Dōmrā is an argot based on the current Bhōjpuri of the districts, with a tissue of Rājasthānī and Hindōstānī. To the latter belong forms such as the case suffixes, dative *kō*, genitive *kā*, *kī*, *kē* ;

¹ See A. F. Pott, *Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien*, Vol. i. Halle, 1844, p. 42; Chr. Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. i, Second edition, p. 460, note 1; Franz Miklosich, *Ueber die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europas*, viii, p. 57=Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Classe, Vol. xlvii. Vienna, 1810.

² *Academy*, Vol. vii, 1875, p. 637.

² *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. xv, 1886, p. 15.

* See R. A. Stewart Macalister, *The Language of the Nawa or Zuti, the Nomad Smiths of Palestine*. Gipsy Lore Society. Monographs, No. 3. Edinburgh, 1914.

stray verbal forms such as *kihuas-nā*, to say ; *tikunē-sē*, from eating ; *kahā*, said ; *lagā*, began, etc. Of Rājasthānī reminiscences we may note the termination *ā* in the oblique singular and in the plural of strong masculine bases ; thus, *kājwā-kē du chēṭā*, two sons of a man. Most verbal forms and, generally speaking, the whole grammatical system, however, are Bhōjpurī. Compare forms such as *khurē*, am ; *karulī*, I did ; *kahlak*, said ; *kahab*, shall say ; *biruarb*, we shall become ; *ṭiguarihē*, they will see, and the common base *bar*, *bār*, to be.

As in the case of other similar argots there is a certain number of peculiar words. Such are : *baurā*, boy ; *tēpar*, cloth ; *kājwā*, cultivator ; *ruguar*, dead ; *tigun*, eating ; *ṭawā*, went ; *khūrkā*, horse ; *ḍavḷā*, house ; *bhōth*, *chōchkā*, a Dōm ; *bhubhur*, pig ; *ghōmēyā*, *ōban*, rupee ; *gēm*, thief, and so forth. Commonly, however, ordinary Aryan words are used but disguised by means of various changes and additions. Occasionally we find transposition of letters, as in *ḍhanarphul*=*karanphul*, eardrop. More commonly we see that a consonant is prefixed or substituted for the beginning of a word. The gutturals *k* and *kh* are used in this way ; thus, *kōg*=*āg*, fire ; *kōhath*=*hāth*, hand ; *kōhathī*=*hāthī*, elephant ; *khēk*=*ēk*, one ; *khakāl*=*kāl*, famine ; *khingūr*=*sindūr*, red lead ; *khikuar-kē*=*nikāl-kē*, having taken out ; *khurē*, *khōrē*=*rahē*, am. It will be seen that the original word is sometimes also abbreviated and changed in other ways at the same time.

The palatals *ch* and *chh* are most frequently substituted for labials ; thus, *chap-khaiā*=*pāp*, sin ; *chagrī*, *pagrī* ; *chēṭā*=*lēṭā*, son ; *chaikunṭh*=*baikunṭh*, heaven ; *chāchhrī*=*machhlī*, fish ; *chibantu*=*ban*, forest ; *chhiruarkē*=*phir*, again, etc. Sometimes, however, *ch* is also used before or instead of other sounds ; compare *chabhī*=*kabhī*, ever ; *chayā*=*dayā*, compassion ; *chōkar-khaiā*=*naukar*, servant ; *chirōṭī*=*rōṭī*, bread. *ḍh* is used as a substitute in words such as *ḍhanarphul*=*karanphul*, eardrop ; *ḍhasailī*=*kasailī*, betel nut ; *ḍhasbin*=*kasbin*, harlot ; *ḍhēm*=*gēm*, thief ; *ḍhasī*=*khasī*, goat.

n is used in several words such as *nōṭ*, coat ; *nētkhaiā*=*khēt*, fields ; *nuiṭhā*=*gōṭhā*, cowdung ; *nutā*=*jutā*, shoe ; *narī*=*darī*, carpet ; *nēwānī*=*pānī*, water ; *nahar*=*shahr*, town, etc.

Finally we find *r* in words such as *rōpī*=*ṭōpī*, hat ; *rēlī*=*tēlī*, oilman, and so forth.

In addition to such devices the Magahiya Dōms show a marked predilection for changing their words by means of additions after them. The numerals two and following thus add an *ēm*, and we get *dulēm*, two ; *tidrēm*, three ; *charēm*, four ; *pañchēm*, five ; *chhalēm*, six ; *satēm*, seven ; *chaṭēm*, eight ; *navēm*, nine ; *dasēm*, ten ; *bisēm*, twenty. *Gō* is also commonly added to numerals ; thus, *khēgō*, one ; *dulēm-gō*, two ; *salēm-gō*, hundred.

A common addition is also *tū* ; thus, *gōrtu*, foot ; *jaḍatu*, cold, winter ; *niraktu*=*chirāgh*, lamp ; *jawabtu*, an answer ; *dhantu*, property ; *chichartu*=*bichār*, deliberation ; *baptu*=*bāp*, father ; *nalēhatu*=*ṣalāh*, counsel. Compare Sāsī *tā*.

Other common additions are *khaiā*, *khaihē*, *khaiḷā* in the Saran specimen, and *hilā*, *hilē* in the Champaran texts. Thus, *nētkhaiā*=*khēt*, field ; *chumkhaiā*=*chumā*, kissed ; *chapkhaiā*=*pāp*, sin ; *bhaikhaiā*, brother ; *saṅghakaiā*, with ; *samānkhaihē*=*sāmne*,

before; *chaskhaē*=*pās*, towards; *bapkhailā*=*bāp*, father; *chētkhailā*, sense; *nētkhailā*=*khēt*, field; *garahilā*=*galā*, neck; *jutahilā* and *nōtahilā*=*jutā*, shoe; *saṅgahilā*, with; *sunahilā*, heard; *samanahilē*, before. Note the frequent abbreviation of the vowel of the original word in such cases.

Many different additions are made to verbal bases, and the conjugation of verbs therefore has a very puzzling appearance. If we abstract from stray forms such as *khasuaitā*=*ātā*, comes; *charsaitā*=*barsātā*, it rains; *dēghluarsē*=*liyā*, gave; *tigungharuarē*, ate, and others, the most characteristic addition is *u*. This *u* can be added alone; thus, *kih-u-ātē*, I will say; *kar-u-lī*, I did; *keh-u-lē* and *kah-u-ulak*, said; *kir-u-wē*, to make; *kih-uw-ēs*, *kih-u-as*, *kih-u-ēsā*, said.

In other cases it is preceded by an *s*; thus, *dī-su*, gave; *li-su*, took; *dī-su-ātā*, gives; *kha-su-ātē*, coming; *kha-su-aitā*, comes (with *kh* added in front); *kī-suw-atē*, have done; *a-su-ān*, *a-su-ānē*, *a-su-āel*, and *kha-su-ān*, came; *chal-so-āel*, went; *dī-suw-ē*, had given; *dī-suw-ēs*, gavest; *dī-suw-as*, gave; *dī-su-alan*, gave; *dī-su-alin*, gavest.

A very common addition is *uar*; thus, *char-uar-ē*, to graze; *kah-uar-ē*, to say; *dēkh-uar-kē*, having seen, *chaṭ-uar* (*disu*), dividing (gave); *rah-uar-ā*, remained; *ho-wr-ē*, it may be; *mar-nar-thī*, I am dying; *kir-uar-tē*, I did; *dī-suar-tahā*, gave; *chah-uar-tarhā*, he was wishing; *rah-uar-ṭwā*, *rah-uar-ṭōāel*, stayed; *rah-uar-al*, was; *bach-uar-al*, was saved; *lag-uar-alē*, began; *tar-uar-lī*, I transgressed; *rah-uar-alhā*, was; *chuchh-uar-alak*, asked; *mar-uar-alas*, has beaten, and so forth; compare Kanjarī *wār*, *bār*, etc.

The *l*-suffix of many of these forms is the suffix of the past participle. It also occurs in the present in forms such as *bar-u-ala*, is; *hō-war-al*, am, art, is; *khō-war-lī*, we are; *sut-uar-al*, sleeps, and so on. Compare Bhōjpuri.

The preceding remarks only explain the most common Dōm devices for disguising common words. There are probably numerous similar ones. Of those occurring in the specimens we may mention the addition of *krā* in pronouns; thus, *khōkrē*, by thee; *khō-krē-mē-sē*, from among them, etc. It should be noted that *khū* may stand for *tū*, thou, and also for *ū*, he. In the case of verbs attention may be drawn to the frequent use of compound tenses formed with the base *ṭau*, to go; thus, *hō-ṭwā*, became; *rahuar-tawā*, stayed; *par-ṭawān*, fell; *gaṅgar-ṭōāel*, fled; the occasional addition of *rat* in *sunā-rat*, he heard, and so forth. Further particulars will be understood from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son in the argot of the Magahiyā Dōms of Chapra in the Saran District. The two other ones have come from Champaran and have been forwarded as illustrating the slang of the Dōmrās. The first of them is a version of the Parable, the second a short Dōm story.

[No. 48.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

MAGAHİYĀ DŌM.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT SARAN-

Khēk kājwā-kē du chētā baruaral. Khōkrē-mē-sē chōchikā-nē
One man-of two sons were. Them-among-from younger-by
 bapkhailā-sē kihuēsā, ' hē bapkhailā, darbkhaiā jē hamrē chakrā
father-to said, ' O father, goods which my share
 hōwrē, sē hamē disu.' Tab u khōkrē khāpan darbkhaiā
will-be, that to-me give.' Then he to-him own goods
 chaṭuar disu. Bahut din nā chitaur ke chōchikā chētā sab
dividing gave. Many days not passed that younger son all
 chijkhaiā khēkthā kar-kē chari chahrē chalāṭwā, khaur khuhā
things together having-made far country went, and there
 chadmāsī din chitarṭwā, khāpan darbkhaiā khurā disuwas. Jab
in-riotousness days spent, own goods wasted gave. When
 wah sab kuchh khurā disuwē, tab us chahrē-mē charā khakāl
he all whatever wasted had-given, then that country-in big famine
 parṭawān, khaur wah dhaṅgāl hōṭwā, khaur khuhā ṭawākē
fell, and he destitute became, and there having-gone
 us chahrē khādmī-mē khēk ādmī rahuartawā, jēkrē khōkrē
that country men-in one man to-live-went, who him
 khapnē nētkhaiā bhūbhur charuarē bhējuar-disuwē. Khaur khōkrē
own fields swine to-graze sent. And those
 nēdhiō-sē jinhē bhūbhur tigun-gharuarē khapnā chēt bharuarē
husks-with which swine eating-were own belly to-fill
 chahuartarhā, khaur kaunō nā us-kō kuchh disuartaḥā. Tab
wishing-was, and anybody not him-to anything giving-was. Then
 khōkrē chētkhailā hōṭwā, khaur khunē kahuartē, ' khamrē bapkhailā-kē
to-him sense became, and he said, ' my father-of
 chahūt majurā tigunār-sē chahūt pōpī hōkhuartē khaur ham
many servants eating-from much bread remained and I
 bhukhēhē maruarthī. Maī khut-kē khapnē bapkhailā pās chalāṭwā
with-hunger dying-am. I having-arisen own father near go
 khaur khōkrē kihuatē, " hē bapkhailā, kham-nē chaikunṭh khultā khaur
and to-him will-say, " O father, me-by Heaven against and
 khōkrē samun-khaihē chapkhaiā kiruartē; maī chhiruarke tōhār chētā
thee before sin did; I again thy son

kihuē lāek nai-khurē. Khamrē-kē khapnē majurā-mē-sē khēk
to-say worthy not-am. Me own servants-in-from one
 charābar kiru.”” Tab wah khuṭkē khapnē bapkhailā chalāṭwā
like make.”” Then he having-arisen own father went.
 Chahū pawrā nā, khōkrē bapkhailā dēkhuar-kē chayā kiruwasē, khaur
Far came not, his father seen-having mercy made, and
 naruwar-kē us-kē garkhaiā thiru-lisuwēs chumkhaiā. Chētā-nē khōkrē-sē
run-having him-of neck kept-took kissed. Son-by him-to
 kahā, ‘hē bapkhailā, khamrē-kē chaikunṭh khultā khaur khapnē
it-was-said, ‘O father, I (sic) heaven against and yourself
 samankhaihē chap-khailā kiruwatē, khaur chhiruarkē tōhār chētā kahuarē
before sin did, and again thy son to-say
 lāek nai-khōrē.’ Chāki bapkhailā-nē khapnē chōkar-sē kihuwēs, ‘sab-sē
worthy not-am.’ But father-by own servants-to said, ‘all-than
 khachhā tēpar khikuar-kē chahrā-disuwēs, khōkrē kōhath aṅguṭhī khaur
good robe having-brought put-on-him, his hand ring and
 pair-mē nutā pahināō, aur ham tikunarkē khaur nusī biruarb,
feet-on shoes put-on, and we eating and merry let-become,
 kihuat-biruaral hamār chētā ruarē-barābar rahuārā, phir jiwartwā;
because my son dead-like was, again alive-went ;
 chulāṭwā, phir chiluartwā.’ Tab wē khānand kiruwar liguwārē.
lost-went, again met-went.’ Then they merriment to-make began.

Khōkar charkā chētā nētkhailā-mē biruaral. Khaur chalā-khasuātē
His big son fields-in was. And going-coming
 niarkhaihē khasuān, tab jakhaiā khaur nachard khawāj sunārat. Khaur
near came, then music and dancing sound heard. And
 khu khapnē chōkarkhaiā-mē-sē khēk-kō chaskhaē chōlāwat chuchhuartē khi,
he own servants-in-from one-to near calling asked that,
 ‘kā hawāral?’ Khu khōkrē-sē kihuas, ‘khapnē bhaikhaiā asuānē,
‘what becoming-is?’ He him-to said, ‘yourself-of brother came,
 khaur tohār bapkhailā niman tigunār wrēsā khēkhōjkhaiā-sē ki usē
and thy father good dinner has-given because that him
 khachhā chauarēsā.’ Chāki khōkrē nisān biruaral khaur chitar nā ṭāwō.
well got.’ But he angry became and inside not came.
 Khēkrē khōkar bapkhailā chahri asuā-kē chanānē lagā.
Therefore his father outside having-come to-remonstrate began.
 Khōkrē bapkhailā-kē jawabtu dēghluarsē kē, ‘dēkhuarē, māī bahut
He father-to answer gave that, ‘see, I many
 charisō-sē khōkrī sēvkhaiā kiruartē, khaur chab-hī khō-kā hukumkhaiā
years-from thy service did, and ever thy order

nā taruarli. Khaur khōkrē hamrē kabikhaiā khēk nakrī na
not transgressed. And thou to-me ever one goat not
 disuwēs kē khapnē chit saṅkhaiā khānand kiruat biruaral. Chāki
gavest that own friends with merriment making might-be. But
 khāpan ē chētā jēs wā khapnē sab-khaihē darbkhaiā tigon-tawān jaisē
own this son who your-own all-whatever goods eating-went when
 khasuān tyō-hī khap-nē khōkrē khachhā tikunār kiruaisai.
came then-indeed yourself-by for-him good dinner have-made.'
 Bapkhailā khōkrē-sē kihuwēs, 'hē chētā, tu sab din hamrē saṅkhaiā,
Father him-to said, 'O son, thou all days me with,
 khaur kichhu khamār hai, sē sab tōr hawwaral. Chāki khānand
and anything mine is, that all thine is But joy
 kiruwē khaur nōsī hōṭwā khachhā thā kākē-ki yah tōr bhāikhaiā
to-make and merry to-be good was because this thy brother
 rubarlē barābar rahuarā, phir jiwartwā; chulātwā, phir miluwartwā.
dead like was; again alive-went; lost-went, again met-went.'

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

DÖMRÄ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT CHAMPARAN.

Khêk ādmī-kē dulēm-gō chētā rahuarē. Chhōṭkā chētā kahlak
One man-of two sons were. Younger son said
 khapnā baptu-sē, 'hē baptu, ōban chubi hamār chakhrā disu-disu.'
own father-to, 'O father, rupees pice our share give.'
 Tab chaṭuar disu. Chahu din nā bituaral ki khapnā chakhrā chubi
Then dividing gave. Many days not passed that own share pice
 lisu-kē dūr destu chalṭoāel ō khapnā raṇdatu-sē sab khurā disu.
taking distant country went and own misconduct-by all squandered gave.
 Tab u destu-mē khakaltu paruar-ṭoāel, u nākliṭ-mē hō-ṭoāel.
Then that country-in famine fell, he difficulty-in becoming-fell.
 Khēhu destu-mē khēgō ādmī-kē hiā rahuar-ṭoāel, bhumbhur charuarē
That country-in one man-of with living-became, swine for-tending
 lisuṭoāel-narāel. Kō jī bhumbhur tikunē khēhu raṇḍwā tikunē
was-deputed. Husks which swine ate that rascal to-eat
 chahuarē; khōkrākē kēu nā disuē kichhuē. Khōkrā khakil bhauaral,
wished; him-to anybody not gave anything. To-him sense came,
 u kahuaral, 'hamarā baptu kihā chijurā-kē tikunē-sē bahit nōṭi
he said, 'my father with servants-of eating-than much bread
 bachuaral, ham bhukhalē rugtā-nī. Khapnā baptu-kē niar ṭoāeb
is-saved, I with-hunger dying-am. Own father-of near will-go
 khunkā-sē kahab kī, "ham Bhagwantu-kē samanahilē ō baptu-kē
him-to will-say that, "I God-of before and father-of
 samanahilē paptu karūli; ham tōhār chētā kahāwē lāek na barūli;
before sin did; I thy son to-be-called fit not became;
 hamrā-kē chijurā māfil januarī." ' Khuṭuar-kē apnā baptu-kē niar
me servant like consider." ' Arisen-having own father-of near
 ṭoāilin. Chētā-kē ṭhiguar-kē baptu-kē chāyā laguaral, daruar-kē
went. Son seen-having father-to compassion was-applied, run-having
 garahilā thiru-kē chumahilā lisualak. Chētā-nē kahulak, 'hē baptu,
neck embraced-having kisses took. Son-by said, 'O father,
 Bhagwantu-kē samanahilē ō tōhrā samanahilē paptu kirūli; chētā kihūē
God-of before and of-thee before sin did; son to-say

lāek nā birualī.' Baptu apnā nōkarhilā-sē kihualak kī, 'chadhiā tēpar
fit not am. *Father own servants-to said that,* 'good clothes
 nikalwā-kē chētā-kē chenhāō, ō kōhāth-mē khōnguṭhī au gōrtu-mē nōtahilā
taking-out son-to put-on, and hand-on ring and feet-on shoes
 chenhāō; ō ham tikunī khushahilā karuarī; hamār chētā lugail
put-on; and we shall-eat merry shall-make; my son dead
 rahuaralhā, jituar-ṭōael; nulā ṭōael rahualhā, ab miluar-ṭōael.' U-lōg
was, living-became; lost gone was, now found-became. *They*
 khushahilā hō-ṭōael.
merry became.

Khō-kar nētkā chētā khētu-mē rahuaral. Khētu-mē-sē apnā daulē
His big son field-in was. Field-in-from own house
 chalsoael, nachtu howarail chājā chējuarail sunahilā. Aur nōkarhilā-sē
went, dancing going-on music beating heard. And servant-from
 chōlā-kē chēchuaralak, 'kā hōwaralē?' Khun-kā-sē kehulē kī,
called-having asked, 'what is-going-on?' Him-to said that,
 'khapnē-kē bhahilā suāel baruaralē; khapnē-kē baptu chadhiā tikunē-kē
'self-of brother arrived has-become; self-of father big eating-for
 karuaralē, khun-kā-kē chinuman paruaralē-bārē.' Tab u nisiā
made-has, because safe-and-sound found-has. *Then he angry*
 hō-ṭōael ō daul-mē rā ṭōael. Baptu daul-sē khikalsuāel
becoming-went and house-in not went. Father house-from going-out-came
 khō-kar-kē chināwē laguaralē. Tab u baptu-kē jababtu disualan, 'ham
him-to to-entreat began. Then he father-to answer gave, 'I
 khapnē-kē katā dintu-sē sēwahilā kirualī. Kabhī khapnē-kē chachan
self-of how-many days-from service did. Eter self-of word
 nā khuṭaralī. Mudā khamrā-kē khēgō chēthrū nā disu kē khapnā
not transgressed. Eter me-to one kid not gave that own
 dōstu-kē saṅgahilā musī kartī. Bāki dhasbin-kē saṅgahilā
friends-of in-company merry might-make. But harlots-of in-company
 rāur ī chētā sab dhantu khurā disu, to-ī tab-hī suāel, tab-hī
your-Honour's this son all wealth spent gave, he then came, then
 nīmat chadhiā mōṭikā chanā-kē tihunē-kē disualin.' Baptu
good big feast having-prepared eating-for you-gave. *The-father*
 khō-kar-sē kihulak kī, 'chētā, hamār sāth tu khamēsē baruala, sē
him-to said that, 'son, me with thou always art, what
 barualē hamar, sē tōhrē biruaralē. Bāki khushahilā kirūkē chahuaral,
is mine, that thine is. But merry to-make it-was-wanted,
 khuarē-kē tōr bhahilā rōguar ṭōael, phēr jīuar ṭōael; nulā ṭōael rahuaral,
because thy brother dead went, again alive went; lost gone was,
 phēr milual ṭōael.'
again found went.'

[No. 50.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

DÖMRĀ.

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT CHAMPARAN.

Khak	rajahilā	rahuarē.	Khō-krē	dhantu	pañchēm	dhēm	gimāwē
One	rājā	was.	His	property	five	thieves	to-steal
gahuaral.	Gimātē	gimātē	narichh	hō	toāel.	Pañchēmu	
went.	Stealing	stealing	morning	becoming	went.	Five	
khāpus-mē	nalēhatu	chicharatu	kirialak,	'ab	na	jantu	bachuarī.
selves-among	counsel	deliberation	made,	'now	not	living-being	will-be-saved.
Naṭiā	lisu,	khōhi	par	dhantu	thirū,	tēpar	churdā
Bed	bring,	that	on	property	place,	cloth	corpse
						likeness	covering
						give.	
Charēmu-gōrā	chārū	chauā	khutā-kē	kandhatu-par	thirū	disu.	Khēk
Four-of-us	four	legs	having-lifted	shoulders-on	place	give.	One
ādmī	nuiṭhā-mē	kīcha	kōhāth-mē	thirū	lisu,	kandhatu-par	nudār
man	cowdung-in	fire	hand-in	place	take,	shoulder-on	hoe
						place	
lisu.'	Khaisani	kirū-kē	pañchēmō	gēm	gaṅgar	toāel.	
take.'	Thus	having-done	five	thieves	escaping	went.	

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

There was once a king, and five thieves came to steal his property. While they were thus occupied the morning came. The five thieves began to consult among themselves. 'Now none of us will escape. Let us take a bed and put the stolen property on it. Then let us put a cloth over the property as if it were a corpse. Let four of us take the bed at its four legs and put it on our shoulders. Let the fifth one take fire and cowdung in his hand and put a hoe on his shoulder.' Having done so all five thieves escaped.

MALĀR.

The Malārs are a wandering caste of moulders in brass found in Chota Nagpur. Mr. H. Streatfeild writes of them in the Report of the 1901 Census of Bengal :—

‘They claim to be Hindus and Aryans, but the local tradition is that the original Malār was the elder brother of the original Orāḍ, and that, having accidentally discovered, while warming himself by a fire one cold morning, that brass could be cast into ornamental shapes by means of sand moulds, he left his brother to do the ploughing and took up casting in brass as a profession. Their work is often very clever; small brass ornaments such as are worn by the Kols, brass ornamentation on weapons, and especially elaborately ornamental *poilas* or seer measures, being successfully cast by them. In habits they are absolutely nomadic, each family wandering about as work presents itself, staying in a village for a year or two and then moving on. I know two houses of Malārs permanently settled in a Munḍā village, speaking Munḍārī and working as cultivators, but a regular Malār in the same neighbourhood told me that these were practically outcasted. They have no legends of any ancestral home, and bury their dead in the village where they happen to die without marking the spot in any way. Their language is a slang formed by syllabic perversions of Nāgpuriā.’

The number of Malārs returned in Chota Nagpur at the last Census of 1901¹ was as follows :—

Ranchi	976
Palamanu	125
Manbhum	824
Chota Nagpur Tributary States	384
	<hr/>
TOTAL	2,309
	<hr/>

In addition to these 9 Malārs were returned from the Andamans.

Mr. Streatfeild has been good enough to send me a short Malār vocabulary. It fully bears out his statement that the language of the Malārs is a slang based on Nāgpuriā. Thus we find the plural suffix *man* in *bī-man*, these; *bū-man*, those; the genitive suffixes *kar* and *kēr* in forms such as *bū-kar*, his; *bū-man-kēr*, their; verbal forms such as *ṭuai-raukhis*, going wast, wentest; *ṭualak*, he has gone; *ṭuabai*, we shall go; *ṭuabā*, you will go; *ṭuabai*, they will go, and so on. So far as can be seen from the scanty materials the inflexional system is the same as in Nāgpuriā throughout. The vocabulary also is the same as in Nāgpuriā though there are several peculiar words such as *kurmuy*, head; *khaul*, house; *khulsā*, husband; *chēwās*, hair; *ṭuai*, going; *ṭōlmā*, neck; *ḍhaparchū*, forehead; *ḍharjmā*, liver; *tutkā*, temples; *duṛgā*, old man; *nētrai*, blood; *nōhkā*, man; *nōhkin*, woman, wife; *nōph*, breast; *pīpinmī*, eyelid; *baitinī*, food; *ladarmī*, stomach; *luluha*, wrist; *supulmī*, foot. In other cases ordinary words are disguised in various ways. In words such as *chēōrmā*=*chamrā*, skin; *ḥandpaṭhnī*=*kanpaṭi*, temples; *tarmū*=*tālū*, palate; *baīchhū*=*bāzū*, upper arm; *mīsī*=*mūchh*, moustache, we find sporadic instances of slight changes of various kinds within the words. The most common way of disguising words is by adding consonants and syllables in front or at the end, just as in numerous other argots.

¹ They do not appear to have been recorded in 1911.

A *k* is prefixed in words such as *kōig*=*āg*, fire; *Kirānchī*, *Rānchī*; *kōhāt*=*hāth*, forearm; *kōhōr*=*hār*, bone.

Kh is added in the front of some words; thus, *khaṅgur*, finger; *khōīkh*=*āīkh*, eye; *khamrē*=*hamrē*, we; *khimsār*=*mās*, flesh; *khirāī*=*rāṇḍ*, widow.

Ch and *chh* are, as usual, prefixed to or substituted for labials; thus, *chibhāl*, brother; *chhētā*=*bētā*, son.

Dh is used in words such as *dhēr*, a seer.

N is used in a similar way in *nail*=*bhaīl*, bullock.

B is prefixed in pronouns and in the numeral 'one'; thus, *bī*, this; *bū*, that; *bau*, yonder; *bēk*, one.

B is substituted for a *p* in *rāñchlū*=*pāch*, five; *rīth*=*pīth*, back; *rōtkai*=*pēt*, belly; and *l* has been used instead of *n* in *lāmbhmī*=*nābh*, navel.

In *chakinbahin*, sister, the whole word has been prefixed after substituting a *ch* for the initial *b*.

In other cases words are disguised by means of various additions at the end. Such additions are:—

kai or *khai*, in *rindikai*, veranda; *rōtkai*=*pēt*, belly; *durkhai*=*dwār*, door. *Kh* alone is added in *raukhō*, I was. A suffix *khulā* occurs in *dāntkhulā*=*dāt*, tooth.

chū is a very common addition; thus, *gālchū*=*gāl*, cheek; *jāngchū*=*jāngh*, thigh; *jibchū*=*jibh*, tongue; *bāpchū*=*bāp*, father, and so forth.

chh is added in *mōrchhā*, my; *tōrchhā*, thy; cf. *mōēchā*, I; *tōēchā*, thou.

durā has been suffixed in *kanḍurā*, ear.

mā, *mī*, occurs in *khaparmā*=*khaprā*, tiles; *thēhunmā*=*thēwnī*, knee; *bhaumā*=*bhaū*, brow; *pakhurmā*=*pakhaurā*, shoulder; *barārmī*=*rīrh*, backbone; *ērmi*=*ērī*, heel; *lāmbhmī*=*nābh*, navel, etc.

r has been added in *nākurā*=*nāk*, nose; *khimsār*=*mās*, flesh; cf. also *uar* in verbs such as *tapuarek*, to warm oneself; *joruarek*, to light a fire; *lipuarek*, to whitewash.

l is suffixed in *kharchul*=*karchhā*, ladle (also Hindi); *dōl*, two, and so forth.

Further details may be ascertained from the short vocabulary which follows:—

Numerals.

One	<i>bēk</i> (<i>bēknōt</i> = <i>ēk-tō</i>)	Eight	<i>khātḷū</i>
Two	<i>dōl</i> , <i>dōlnōt</i>	Nine	<i>naulū</i>
Three	<i>tinlū</i>	Ten	<i>daslū</i>
Four	<i>chairlū</i>	Eleven	<i>gārmō</i>
Five	<i>rāñchlū</i>	Nineteen	<i>onāischū</i>
Six	<i>chaulū</i>	Twenty	<i>bischū</i> , <i>bēk kōrmī</i>
Seven	<i>sātlū</i>	Forty	<i>dōl kōrmī</i>

Pronouns.

I	<i>mōēcha</i>	Your	<i>tohōrmēkēr</i>
My	<i>mōrchhā</i>	He, that	<i>bū</i>
We	<i>khamarē</i> , <i>khamarmē</i>	His	<i>bū-kar</i>
Our	<i>khamrēkēr</i> , <i>khamar-mēkēr</i>	They	<i>būman</i>
Thou	<i>tōēchā</i>	Their	<i>būmankēr</i>
Thy	<i>tōrchhā</i>	This	<i>bī</i>
You	<i>tokōrmē</i>	Yonder	<i>bau</i>

Human beings.

Man	<i>nōhkā</i>	Father	<i>bāpchū</i>
Woman	<i>nōhkin</i>	Mother	<i>maichū</i>
Old man	<i>duṛgā</i>	Son	<i>chhētā</i>
Old woman	<i>duṛgī</i>	Daughter	<i>chhētī</i>
Boy	<i>chōrmā</i>	Brother	<i>chibhāi</i>
Girl	<i>chōrmī</i>	Sister	<i>chahin-bahin</i>
Husband	<i>khulsā</i>	Widower	<i>khirāṛū</i>
Wife	<i>nōhkin</i>	Widow	<i>khirāṛī</i>

Parts of the body.

Head	<i>kurmur</i>	Thumb	<i>tēpā khaṅgur</i>
Hair	<i>chēwās</i>	Mid finger	<i>māj khaṅgur</i>
Forehead	<i>ḍhaparchū</i>	Little finger	<i>kanī khaṅgur</i>
Temples	<i>kandpaṭhnī, tutkā</i>	Chest	<i>chhātmī</i>
Eye	<i>khōīkh</i>	Breast	<i>nōph</i>
Pupil	<i>rajnā</i>	Back	<i>rīth</i>
Eyebrow	<i>bhaumā</i>	Side	<i>ḍārkharī</i>
Eyelid	<i>pipinmī</i>	Stomach	<i>ladarmī ; rōṭkai</i>
Eyelashes	<i>pipinmī chēwās</i>	Navel	<i>lāmbhmī</i>
Cheek	<i>gālchū</i>	Skin	<i>chēōrmā</i>
Ear	<i>kāṇḍurā</i>	Tendon	<i>sirchū</i>
Nose	<i>nākurā</i>	Flesh	<i>khimsār</i>
Mouth	<i>khumhār</i>	Liver	<i>ḍharjmā</i>
Lip	<i>ōṭ</i>	Lungs	<i>pokosmā</i>
Tooth	<i>dāntkhulā</i>	Heart	<i>kamalchū</i>
Tongue	<i>jībchū</i>	Bile	<i>pitchū</i>
Palate	<i>tarmū</i>	Bowels	<i>nanchū pōṭmanā</i>
Jaw-bone	<i>chauhmuā</i>	Blood	<i>nētrai</i>
Beard	<i>dārhi</i>	Bone	<i>kōhōr</i>
Moustache	<i>mīsī</i>	Ribs	<i>rañjermā</i>
Neck	<i>ṭōṭmā</i>	Backbone	<i>barārmī</i>
Shoulder	<i>pakhurmā</i>	Thigh	<i>jāṅgchū</i>
Upper arm	<i>baichhū</i>	Knee	<i>ṭhēhunmā</i>
Fore-arm	<i>kōhāt</i>	Ankle	<i>ghuṭnī</i>
Wrist	<i>luluha</i>	Foot	<i>supulmī</i>
Palm of hand	<i>tarhāt</i>	Sole of foot	<i>tarpuā</i>
Finger	<i>khaṅgur</i>		

House and furniture.

House	<i>khaul</i>	Cooking pot	<i>kōhjan</i>
Tiles	<i>khaparmā</i>	Earthen pot for carrying water	<i>nōgair</i>
Wall	<i>bhitchū</i>	Ladle	<i>kharchul</i>
Door	<i>durkhai</i>	Fire	<i>kōig</i>
Space in front of house	<i>kōṅgēnā</i>	Ashes	<i>rākchū</i>
Veranda	<i>rindikai</i>	Broom	<i>cheurhan</i>

Verbs.

to extinguish	<i>nijhuarek</i>	Thou goest	<i>ṭuathis</i>
to light a fire	<i>joruaek</i>	He goes	<i>ṭuatakulis</i>
to sweep	<i>cheurhaek</i>	We go	<i>ṭuati</i>
to warm oneself	<i>tapuarek</i>	You go	<i>ṭuata</i>
to whitewash	<i>lipuarek</i>	They go	<i>ṭuathai</i>
I go	<i>ṭuathō</i>		

Name.

Number.

[illegible]

The Qaşāis seem to have a trade language of their own. During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Qaşāiyō-ki Farsī was reported to be spoken by 2,700 persons in the Karnal District. Dr. T. Grahame Bailey has given some information about the secret language of those Qaşāis of the Panjab who do not kill cows.

BAILEY, REV. T. GRAHAME, D.D.—*The Secret Words of the Qasāts. Notes on Punjabi Dialects*, pp. 9f.
BAILEY, REV. T. GRAHAME, D.D.—*The Secret Words of the Qasai (Kasai)*. In "Linguistic Studies from the Himalayas," pp. 273ff. Asiatic Society Monographs, Vol. xvii. London, 1920. (A Reprint of the preceding.)

Specimens of Qaṣāī have been received from Karnal and also from the Belgaum District. The Qaṣāīs of Karnal, who numbered 5,794 at the 1901 Census, are all Muhammadans. The dialect illustrated by the specimens is of the same kind as the Qaṣāī described by Dr. Bailey. The materials received from Belgaum are stated to illustrate the language of the cow-killing Qaṣāīs. It agrees with the dialect of the Karnal Qaṣāīs in so many points that the two can safely be described as one and the same form of speech, which is an argot based on Hindōstānī. In Karnal we also find Pañjābī forms such as *mazdūrā-mē*, amongst the servants. In the Belgaum specimens the dialect is much mixed with

¹ No Quasies were recorded under that name in 1911.

Dravidian, and it is probably due to this influence that the case of the agent has been discarded and that the sense of the actual meaning of some verbal forms has been weakened. Forms such as *tlārtāũ*, am, also occur in the second and third persons in addition to *tlārtai*, art, is, and *ghāḍungā*, I shall beat, is said to be used in all persons and numbers.

The orthography of the specimens does not seem to be consistent. Thus the word *tip*, see, which is written with a cerebral *t* by Dr. Bailey and in the Belgaum specimens, occurs as *tip* in the Karnal version of the Parable. The same text gives *dēwarnā*, to give, while the second Karnal specimen uses *lēwarnā*, to take, with a cerebral *n*. The sound noted *th* is probably the sound of *th* in English "think." It had, however, been written *th* in a Nāgarī transcript which accompanied the Karnal texts. In *thūr-nā*, eat, this *th* seems to represent an *ś*; compare *śūḍ*, eat, in the Belgaum list and *shūḍnā*, *shūrñā*, to eat, to drink, in the vocabulary published by Dr. Bailey. The same is the case in *this*, six, where Dr. Bailey has *this*; compare Arabic *sids*.

The peculiar appearance of the Qasāī argot is, to a great extent, due to the extensive use of strange words. As in the Kanjarī dialect of Belgaum many of the numerals are Arabic. Thus, *dhallā* (Bailey *talā*), three, Arabic *thalāth*; *arbā*, four, Arabic 'arba'; *khammas*, Belgaum *khammis*, Bailey *khammas*, five, Arabic *khamis*; *this*, Bailey *this*, six, Arabic *sids*; *āsir*, ten, Arabic 'ashar.

Numerous other peculiar words occur in the specimens and in Dr. Bailey's List. Such are *adāl*, put; *akēl*, one (Hindōstānī *akēlā*, alone); *buṭ*, father, or, according to Dr. Bailey, a Jāt; *baṭlā*, rupee; *bhakkar*, cow; *bigarñā* or *bigharnā*, to die (cf. Hindōstānī *bigarñā*?); *chilknī*, ring (cf. Hindōstānī *chilaknā*, to glitter); *chishmī*, application; *chuskā*, interest; *chabīne*, tooth; *chhanakā*, boy; *dusarñā*, to say (Belgaum, compare the Kanjarī dialect of the district); *gaunā*, to get; *gaunā*, foot (in Belgaum *guḍāle*; in the Karnal specimens *gaunā* is also used with the meaning of 'hand'); *ghārñā*, *ghāḍnā*, to beat, to loose; *gaimb*, thief (Bailey); *hakūk*, swine (Karnal); *hajīb*, bad (Belgaum); *hap-kē-hap* (for *sab-ke-sab*), all together; *hiḍap*, take; *kachēlā* (Belgaum), *kadrā* (Karnal), son (compare *bachchā*?); *kanēlī*, bread (Bailey *khadēlī*, *khanēlī*); *kajilī*, afternoon; *kahilā* (Karnal), *kailā* (Belgaum), rupee; *kasñā*, to pay (perhaps English 'cash'); *kīd*, give (Belgaum, compare Tamil *koḍu*); *khasṭā*, property; *khīlas* (Karnal), *khīlsī* (Belgaum), belly; *khēḍā*, village (Belgaum, Kanarese *khēḍā*); *khū*, go; *khūm*, word, noise; *khunsā*, starving; *lāgwārē* (Karnal), hundred; *mēknī*, goat; *minjālī*, tongue; *nakāt*, young, destitute, lost, angry (according to Dr. Bailey the meaning of this word is 'bad,' 'worthless'; it is used in different senses in the first specimen); *nakātī*, sin; *nand* (Karnal), *nann* (Belgaum), house; *naṇḍ*, water (Bailey); *nhāṭ*, run; *nīrgā*, water (Belgaum); *pāḍā*, bull; *phēkanī*, nose; *sihām*, share; *śēbīt*, good; *subak*, younger brother (Belgaum); *subūkḍā*, man (Belgaum); *suwālā*, good (Belgaum); *śūḍ*, eat; *thaiḱnā*, to become, to gather; *thārtā*, being; *thūr*, eat; *thōkanā*, hundred (Belgaum); *tip*, see; *ṭuluk*, sleep; *uks*, go away, and so forth.

In comparison with this extensive use of peculiar words, the disguising of common ones by means of additions in front or at the end plays a much smaller rôle in Qasāī.

Among prefixed elements we may note *k* in *kāndhū*, a Hindū (Bailey); *jh* in *jhōrā*=*thōrā*; *m̃* in *māḍ*, village, cf. *Sāsī nād*; *m̃h*, twenty, cf. *bīs*; and *l* in *liprā*, cloth, cf. Hindōstānī *kaprā*; *land* and *nand*, house.

Of final additions I have found *k* in *bulkā*, said; *ṭ* in *hatōtā*, hand; *kannōtyā*, ear; *ṇ* in *akōnyā*, eye; *l* in *bandāl*, bind; *war* in *āwar*, come; *diwar*, give, etc.; *wāḍ* in *batwāḍ*, sit; *bōlcāḍ*, call; *sunwāḍ*, hear, and so forth.

Further details will be ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable and the second a Qasāī version of a statement in court, both received from the Karnal District. The third is a popular tale in the dialect of the cow-killing Qasāīs of Belgaum. The Standard List of Words and Sentences from Belgaum will be found below on pp. 181ff.

[No. 51.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

QASĀĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT KARNAL.

Akēl buṭ-kē jaṛ kadrē thē. Nakāt kadrē-nē buṭ-sē bulkā
One father-of two sons were. Young son-by father-to it-was-said
 ki, 'ai buṭ, khastō-kā sihām jō mujhē dēwarnā hai dēwar-dē.'
that, 'O father, property-of share which to-me to-be-given is giving-give.'
 Phir khastē unhē dēwar-diyā. Jhōrā din pīchhē nakāt kadrā
Then property to-them giving-was-given. Few days after younger son
 hap-kē-hap khastē lēwar-kē dūr-kē mulk-mē uks-gayā. Wahā
all property having-taken distant country-to going-away-went. There
 thaik-kar apnē khastē kakāyat-mē urā diyē. Jab sārā uksā
having-gone own property luxury-in wasting was-given. When all spent
 chukā us mulk-mē khunsē bighar-nē lagē, aur wō kadrā nakāt
finished that country-in hungering to-die began, and that son low
 hōnē lagā. Phir us mulk-kē akēl jēdlē-kē thaik gayā. Jēdlē-nē
to-be began. Then that country-of one rich-of near went. Rich-one-by
 kadrē-kō hakūk charānē-kō uksāyā. Aur wō hakūk-kē bachē huē
son swine feeding-for was-sent-away. And he swine-of left been
 gaunō-sē apnā khilas jēdlā karnā chāhtā thā, ak kōi usē
refuse-with own belly good to-make wishing was, but anybody to-him
 dēwarē nā thā. Phir jēd hōkar khumyāyā, 'mērē buṭ-kē
giving not was. Again sensible having-become said, 'my father-of
 bahut-sē mazdūrō-kō kanēli hai, aur maī khunsā bighrū. Maī uks-kar
many servants-to bread is, and I hungering die. I having-risen
 apnē buṭ-kē pās thaikūgā aur us-sē bulkūgā ki, "ai buṭ, maī-nē
own father-of near will-go and him-to will-say that, "O father, me-by
 āsmān-kā aur tērē huzūr nakātī kī hai, aur ab is lāik nahī
heaven-of and of-thee in-presence sin done is, and now this fit not
 ki tērā kadrā khumyāyā jāū. Mujhē apnē mazdūrō-mē-sē akēl jaisā
tha thy son called shall-go. Me own servants-in-from one like
 banā." Tab uks-kar apnē buṭ-kē pās uks-gayā. Aur wōh
make." Then having-gone-away own father-of near went. And he
 dūr thā ki us-kō tip-kar us-kē buṭ-kō rahm āyā, aur uks-kar
far was that him having-seen his father-to pity came, and having-gone

galē lagāyā aur bahut chumā. Kadrē-nē usē khumyāyā ki, 'ai neck was-clasped and much kissed. Son-by to-him it-was-said that, 'O but, āsmān aur tērē huzūr nakātī kī hai, aur is kābil nahī father, heaven and of-thee in-presence sin done is, and this fit not ki tērā kadrā khumyāyā jāū.' But-nē apnē naukro-kō khumyāyā that thy son called shall-go.' Father-by own servants-to it-was-said kē, 'jēdlē jēdlē liprē lēwar-lāō aur usē dēwar-dō; aur kadrē-kē that, 'good good clothes taking-take and him giving-give; and son-of gaunē-mē chilkni dēwar-dō aur gaunā-mē gauniyā dēwar-dō. Aur ham hand-on ring giving-give and feet-on shoes giving-give. And we thūrē aur jēdlē hō-jāē, kyū-ki yah mērā kadrā bighrā thā, may-eat and well becoming-may-go, because this my son dead was, ab jiyā hai; nakāt hō-gayā thā, ab āwarā hai.' Tab wōh now alive is; lost become-gone was, wow come is.' Then they jēd hōnē lagē. merry to-be began.

Aur us-kā jēdlā kadrā khēt-mē thā. Jab land-kē pās āwarā, And his big son field-in was. When house-of near came, gānē aur nāchnē-kī khūm sunī. Tab akēl naukar-kō khumyāyā singing and dancing-of sound was-heard. Then one servant-to it-was-said ki, 'yah kiyā hai?' Us-nē usē khumyāyā ki, 'tērā bhāi that, 'this what is?' Him-by to-him it-was-said that, 'thy brother uks-āyā hai, aur tērē but-nē kanēli thūrwāi hai, is-liyē usē back-come is, and thy father-by bread caused-to-be-eaten is, this-for him jēdlā tipā.' Us-nē nakāt hō-kar nā chāhā ki nand-mē well saw.' Him-by angry having-become not wished that house-in āwarē. Tab us-kē but-nē land-sē uks-kar kadrē-kō jēdlā kiyā. may-go. Then his father-by house-from having-gone-out son well made. Kadrē-nē but-sē khumyāyā, 'tip, itnē baras-sē maī tērī khidmat. Son-by father-to it-was-said, 'see, so-many years-from I thy service kartā hū, aur kabhī tērē bulk-kō nā uksāyā; par taī-nē kabhī doing am, and ever thy word not was-reversed; but thee-by ever akēl mēknī-kā kadrā nā dēwar-diyā ki apnē dōstō-sē jēdlā one goat-of young not giving-was-given that own friends-with merry hū; aur jab tērā yah kadrā āwarā, jis-nē tērā khastā nakāt-mē might-be; and when thy this son came, whom-by thy property evil-in jhōrā kiyā, taī-nē us-kē liy' barī kanēli kī.' wasted was-made, thee-by him-of for-the-sake big dinner was-made.' Us-nē us-kō khumyāyā, 'ai kadrē, tū sadā mērē pās hai, aur Him-by him-to it-was-said, 'O son, thou atways of-me near art, and

jō-kuchh mērā hai, sō tērā hai. Par jēdlā hōnā lāzim thā,
whatever mine is, that thine is. But merry to-become proper was,
 kyū-ki yah tērā bhār bighrā thā, sō jiyā hai; aur nakāt hō
because this thy brother dead was, he alive is; and bad having-become
 gayā thā, sō ab āwarā hai.
gone was, he now come is.'

[No. 52.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

QAṢĀĪ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT KARNAL.

Binjhaul mād sudhtā thā. Jaṭaul-kē birādar aur ham
Binjhaul village being-sold was. Jaṭaul-of brothers and we
 hap-kē-hap akēl jagah thaikē. Binjhaul-mē udhar-sē wuh āwarē,
all one place became. Binjhaul-in that-side-from they came,
 aur idhar-sē ham khis-āē. Āpas-mē khūm kari ki
and this-side-from we again-went. Selves-among word was-made that
 mād lēwarṇā chāhiyē. Jaṭaulwālā-nē khumā karā ki, 'mīh
village to-take is-wanted. Jaṭaul-people-by word was-made that, 'twenty
 bisvē-kē kahilē jitnē hō rabāē sāl-kī hakāyat-sē tum dēwar-dō,
bisvā-of rupees as-many-as are four years-of promise-on you giving-give,
 nur hamārī taraf-kē bhī baṭlē tum kas-dō. Un-kā chuskā aur
and our side-of also rupees you pay. Them-of interest and
 kahilē rabāē sāl-mē dēwar-dēgē. Thiswē mahinē chuskā kas-diyā
rupees four years-in giving-shall-give. Six months interest paid
 karēgē.' Hap-kē-hap-nē akēl jagah thaik-kar khūm kari.
shall-make.' All-by one place having-gathered word was-made.
 Ham nand-sē khammas lāgwārē baṭlē lēkar rabāēwē din
We home-from five hundred rupees having-taken one-fourth day
 sāi-kē baṭlē kas-nē āē. Manījar sāhib-kē yahā
earnest-money-of money to-pay came. Manager Sahib-of in-presence
 sāi-kē baṭlē kas diyē. Hakāyat kari ki, 'āsar
earnest-money-of money paid was-given. Promise was-made that, 'ten
 aglē mīh din-mē āwar-kar bēwrā lēwar liyō. Sārḥē
and twenty days-in having-come information taking take. With-one-half
 mīh hazār baṭlē-mē tum-kō mād dēwar-dēgē.' Manījar-nē
twenty thousand rupees-for you-to village giving-shall-give.' Manager-by
 khumā karā, 'hamārā jēdlā vilāyat-mē thaikā hai. Mād-kē sōdh
word was-made, 'our master Europe-in seated is. Village-of sale
 dēnē-kā āsar aglē mīh din mē khabar lēwar-liyō.' Mīh
giving-of ten and twenty days in information taking-take.' Twenty
 aglē āsar din-mē Bērī-kē ilāqē-kē kādū-nē purē akēl mīh
and ten days-in Beri-of district-of banyā-by full one twenty

hazār-mē māḍ lēwarnē-ki chishmī dī. Hamē khabar
thousand-for village taking-of application was-given. To-us information
 huī ki akēl Bērī-kā kādū māḍ lēwartā hai. Ham khammas
became that one Beri-of banyā village taking is. We five
 lāgwārē baṭlē sāi-kē kas-āē. Aisī hakāyat na
hundred rupees earnest-money-of paying-came. Such matter not
 hōwē, māḍ bhi gaunē na lagē aur kahilē bhī
should-happen, village also to-get not should-succeed and money also
 ghārē jāwē. Hap-kē-hap khumā kar-kē Bērī khis-gaē. Bērī
lost should-go. All-together word having-made Beri again-went. Beri
 thaik-kar hap-kē-hap-kō thaikā-kar khumā kiyā, 'tum hamārē
reaching all having-gathered word was-made, 'you our
 birādar. Kādū tumhārā hai, us-nē māḍ lēwarnā thāp liyā hai.
brother. Banyā yours is, him-by village to-take resolve taken is.
 Ham Jaṭaul-sē āwarē hai. Bhāichārē-sē kādū-kō khumyāō
We Jaṭaul-from come are. Brotherhood-on-account-of banyā-to say
 ki māḍ na lēwarē.' Kādū-sē khumā karā, 'tū hamārā
that village not should-take.' Banyā-to word was-made, 'thou our
 lālā hai. Hamārī hakāyat māl-lē; hamārē birādrā-kō māḍ
respected-sir art. Our request obey; our brothers-to village
 lēwarnē dē.' Kādū hakāyat māl gayā, māḍ lēwarnē-sē khis
to-take give.' Banyā request heeding went, village taking-from back
 gayā. Ham birādrā-nē māḍ lēwar-liyā.
went. We brother-by village taking-was-taken.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Binjhaul village was going to be sold. We and our brothers in Jaṭaul came together. They came from there and we from here to Binjhaul, and we agreed to buy the village. The Jaṭaul people said, 'pay the price which may be fixed for twenty biswā¹; you might undertake to pay in four years and also our share of the money. In four years we shall refund you the money with interest, and we shall pay interest every six months.' We had all gathered in one place and consulted, and four days afterwards we came to pay five hundred rupees as earnest-money, and we paid them in the presence of the manager. He told us to come back in a month and get information, and that he might let us have the village for thirty thousand rupees. 'My master,' he said, 'is in Europe. You may get his decision about the sale in a month.' After a month a Banyā² of the Beri District made an application for getting the village at a price of twenty thousand rupees, and we were informed that the Banyā was going to buy it. We had paid five hundred rupees in earnest-money and it would be too bad not to get the village and also to lose our money. We then consulted and went to Beri, and then we all came together and said, 'you are our brothers. There is a Banyā amongst you, and he has resolved to buy the village. We have now come from Jaṭaul. For the sake of our kinship tell the Banyā not to buy the village.' They said to him, 'you are our respected master; listen to our words and let our brothers have the village.' The Banyā took notice of their request and withdrew from the business. Then we brothers got the village.

¹ A *biswā* is the twentieth part of a *biḡhā*.

² The word *kāḍā*, here translated 'Banyā,' usually means 'grain-parcher.'

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

QASĀI.

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ekkan	khēḍe-me	Rāmayyā	kaṇē-kā	ekkan	patēl	thārtā-thā.	Une
One	village-in	Rāmayyā	called	one	patēl	was.	He
ekkan	rōjū	bajār-ku	khū-huwā-thā,	taw	whā	suwālā	khammīs
one	day	bazar-to	went,	then	there	good	five
Gōvē-kā	āmb	mōl-ku-hidap-kō	nann-ku	awaryā.			Us-ku
Goa-of	mangoes	having-bought	house-to	came.			Him-to
arabā-jaṇ	kachēlē	thārtē-the.	Un-kā	nau	Sank	Bāla	
four-persons	sons	were.	Them-of	names	Sank	Bāla	
Bhima	Haṇama.	Patēl	apaṇi	arabā	jaṇ	kachēlē-kū	bōlwād-ko
Bhima	Haṇama.	Patēl	own	four	persons	sons	having-called
dusāryā,	'kachēlē,	hidap,	maī	bajār-mē-si	yō	khammīs	
said,	'sons,	lo,	by-me	bazar-in-from	these	five	
āmb	lewaryā-hai.	Tume	arabā	jaṇ	arabā	hidap-ke	
mangoes	taken-are.	You	four	persons	four	having-taken	
khammīs-kā	āmb	tumāre	ammā-ku	kīd.'		Ē	banat
fifth	mango	your	mother-to	give.'		These	words
suṇwād-ke	ō	kachēlē-ku	khuś	huwādā.		Uno	aīsā
having-heard	those	sons-to	pleasure	became.		By-them	suck
suwālā	āmb-phal	kab-bī	ṭipyā-ch-natte.		Uno	yō	phal
nice	mango-fruits	ever-even	seen-not-were.		By-them	these	fruits
hidap-ke	khū-hō-ke	dusārē-wāisā	baṭwād-karwād-ke			sūdē.	
having-taken	having-gone	said-as	divided-made-having			were-eaten.	
Kajili-ku	ṭuluk-te	wakht-me	Rāmayyā	kachēlē-ku		bōlwād-ke	
Evening-at	sleeping	time-in	Rāmayyā	sons		having-called	
dusāryā,	'pyār	kachēlē,	tāwach	kīdyātā	āmb	kēsa	thārtā-the ?
said,	'dear	sons,	them-only	given	mangoes	how	were ?
Use	Sank	kaṇē-kā	tuwānā	kachēlā	uttar	kīdyā,	'bābā, ō
To-that	Sank	called	eldest	son	answer	gave,	'father, that
phal	mije	bahut	śēbīt	diswādyā.	Ō	bahut	śēbīt phal
fruit	to-me	much	good	appeared.	That	very	good fruit

<u>thārtai.</u>	Maĩ	us-ki	binjya	jatan	karwād-ke	<u>tharā-liyā-hai.</u>
<i>is.</i>	<i>By-me</i>	<i>that-of</i>	<i>stone</i>	<i>care</i>	<i>having-made</i>	<i>kept-taken-is.</i>
Use	nirgā-ke	rōjū	śuru	hōwād-ke	wakt-me	pērwādtaũ.'
<i>That</i>	<i>rain-of</i>	<i>days</i>	<i>beginning</i>	<i>having-become</i>	<i>time-in</i>	<i>am-sowing.'</i>

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

In a certain village there lived a Patēl named Rāmāyā. One day when he had been to the market, he purchased five excellent mangoes and brought them home. He had four sons, Sank, Bāla, Bhīma and Hanāma. He called his four sons together and said to them, 'children, look here, I have brought these five mangoes from the bazar. Keep four of them for yourselves and give the fifth one to your mother.' The children were pleased to hear these words; they had never before seen such nice mangoes. They took the fruit away and divided them among themselves as they had been told. At bed-time Rāmāyā called his children and said, 'dear children, how did you find the mangoes that were then given to you?' To this Sank, the eldest son, replied, 'father, I found the fruit very good. It is an excellent fruit. I have preserved the stone that I may sow it when the rainy season sets in.'

SIKALGĀRĪ.

The caste known as *saiqalgars*, *siqligars*, *sikligars*. etc., are armourers and polishers of metal. The name is a Persian word, *ṣaiqal-gar*, a cleaner, polisher, derived from the Arabic base *ṣaqal*, to polish.

Name.

‘Since the disarming of the country,’ says Mr. Crooke, ‘the trade of the armourer and cutler has become depressed. The ordinary Siqligar seen in towns is a trader of no worth, and his whole stock-in-trade is a circular whetstone (*sān*) worked by a strap between two posts fixed in the ground. He sharpens a four-bladed knife, a pair of scissors or two razors for a pice. Their status is that of ordinary Muhammdans of the lower artizan class.’

The number of Sikligars returned at the Census of 1911 was 5,922, of whom 2,096 were recorded in the Rajputana Agency, the rest being shown as ‘elsewhere.’

Number.

Of these 4,548 were returned as Hindūs, 818 as Sikhs, and 556 as Musalmāns.

We do not possess any information to the effect that the Sikligars, as a whole, possess a language of their own. A separate dialect called

Language.

Sikalgārī was, however, during the preliminary operations of this Survey returned from the Belgaum District of Bombay, where it was said to be spoken by 25 individuals in the Sampgaon *ta’luqa* in the south of the district. Two specimens and the Standard List of Words and Sentences in Sikalgārī have been forwarded from that place.

To judge from these materials Sikalgārī in most particulars agrees with Gujarātī. Compare forms such as *dikarō*, son; *dikarā*, sons; *gāydiyō*, cows; the case suffixes dative *-nē*; ablative *-tō* (Gujarātī *-thō*); genitive *-nō*; locative *-mā*; pronouns such as *mārō*, my; *ham*, we; *tumē*, you; verbal forms such as *chhē*, is; *hotō*, was; *lidyō*, took; *malgū*, it was got; *charāwā-nō*, to tend; *thāl*, become, and so forth.

Some few characteristics, however, point in other directions. With regard to phonology we may note the frequent doubling of consonants and the common disaspiration of aspirates; compare *chhukkō*, hungering; *chōllāwō*, to be called; *duṭṭinē*, having eaten; *nittē*, always; *guṭṭā*, bale; *khubō*, standing; *sādinē*, having searched; *katō*, hand. Both features are found in other Gipsy languages. The former may point towards Pañjābī; the latter reminds us of Dravidian.

Of inflexional forms which are not Gujarātī we may note the periphrastic future in *gō*; thus, *thauṅā*, we shall become. Similar forms of the future are also used in Rājasthānī. The termination of the singular is *gō* as in Eastern Rājasthānī.

The *g*-future is also used in some Bhīl dialects,¹ and it is possible that there is a connexion between Gipsy dialects such as Sikalgārī and Bhīlī. Thus it is probable that the dialect described as Siyālgirī in Vol. IX, Part iii, pp. 197 and ff., has something to do with Sikalgārī.

Connexion with Siyālgirī.

¹ See Vol. II, Part iii, p. 7.

Both dialects mainly agree with Gujarātī. They also agree in not possessing the case of the agent, in dropping a *v* before *i* and *ē*, and in the frequent use of a *kh* instead of an *s*. This *kh* has been treated as a spirant *kh* in dealing with Siyālgirī. In Sikalgārī, however, it is certainly an aspirate as in other Gipsy argots. The Siyālgirs of Midnapore, who are supposed to have immigrated from the west some five or six generations ago, now follow a variety of occupations. Some sell fish, some make and sell bamboo mats, some are cultivators, and a few sell groceries. If they were originally Sikligars, the many points in which their dialect agrees with Sikalgārī are easily explained. The points of disagreement do not present any serious obstacle to this hypothesis, if we remember that the Siyālgirs have long lived among strangers and must necessarily have come under the influence of the dialects spoken by their surroundings. It is more to be wondered that the two forms of speech still present so many points of agreement.

The substitution of a *kh* instead of an *s* and also of other sounds in Sikalgārī mentioned above must be compared with the various Argot. devices for disguising words in other Gipsy dialects. Sikalgārī is not a simple dialect, but also an artificial argot. There are several peculiar words such as *kōyrā*, people, men; *khālmānyū*, swine; *khēḍō*, village; *khōl*, house; *gār*, give; *chingā*, dress; *chōkō*, good; *chhimnō*, horse; *dul*, eat; *dhōtriyō*, belly; *nikat*, run; *nikar*, die; *nikḍiyō*, thief; *pāḍō*, bull; *poṭṭū*, child; *ranban*, wife; *sabādā*, rupee.

Moreover we find some of the common devices of disguising ordinary words by means of various additions. A *kh* is sometimes prefixed before words beginning with a vowel; thus, *khubō*, standing; *khuppar*, above; *kheklā-mā*, in so much, in the meantime; *khaikīnē*, having heard; *kh* is also frequently substituted for an initial *s*; thus, *khāt*, seven; *khāmō*, before; *khārā*, all; *khāpḍyō*, he was found; *khō*, hundred. In *khyāpāryō*, a tradesman, it has replaced a *v*, cf. Gujarātī *vēpārī*.

Ch and *chh* are apparently only substituted for labials, as in other Gipsy argots; compare *chōllāwā*, to be called; *chāyē*, way, means, if this is derived from *upāy*; *chhāndī*, having bound; *chhukkō*, hungering.

An *n* has been substituted for an initial *p* in *nāpchī*, sin.

Several words receive additions at the end, and a final consonant is often dropped before such additions.

Several additions contain a guttural. The simplest one consists of a *kh*, which is substituted for a final *s*; thus, *kāpukh*=*kapās*, cotton; *īkh*, twenty; *dakhalū*, ten; *manekkh*, man; *warakh*, year. A *ṭ* is added to this *kh* in forms such as *ākhṭī*, she came; *lēkhṭyō*, tookest. In *nikat*, run, *kat* seems to be used in the same way. The addition *gōṭ* in *kagōṭyō*, did; *ghāgōṭō*, put, is perhaps also connected. An *n* is also sometimes added to these suffixed gutturals; thus, *jākan*, he goes; *gaknyō*, went; *chhōknō*, boy, compare Gujarātī *chhōkrō*; *rhākan*, he lives; *rhakanyō*, he remained. We may add the suffix *gal* in words such as *ghāgal*, put; *jāgaṭ*, go; *dhagāl-wā-nū*, of catching; *phaglinē*, again.

It is tempting to compare these additions with the Muṇḍā suffixes *kat*, *kan*, which play a great rôle in the conjugation of verbs.

A *khl* or *kl* has been added in words such as *ekhlā*, so many; *kekhalā*, how many? *kheklā-mā*, so-much-in, in the meantime.

A *ch* has been suffixed in words such as *nā₁chī*, sin; *mhēchvī-lē*, putting take; compare Gujarātī *mēlcū*.

Other additions are *t*, *d* and *p*; thus, *dēwṭā-nū*, of God; *jīwṭō*, alive; *nākōḍū*, nose; *mhōḍū*, mouth; *anpū*, food.

For further particulars the specimens which follow should be consulted. The first is a version of the Parable, the second a popular tale. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 181ff.

[No. 54.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SIKALGĀRĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ēk manekh-nē bē dikarā hotā. Tinā-mā nhānchōn dikarō
One man-to two sons were. Them-among by-the-younger son
 āpnō yabā-nē kadyō, 'yabā, tārī jingānī-mā ma-nē ākhtwānō wātō
own father-to it-was-said, 'father, thy property-in me-to coming share
 ma-nē gār.' Yabō tinā-mā āpnō jingī wāṭinē
me-to give.' By-the-father them-among own property having-divided
 gāryō. Nhānchōn dikarō āpnō wātō line dūr gām-nē
was-given. Younger son own share having-taken far country-to
 jākninē ghanā din thayā naī, kheklā-mā tō dhundh thainē
having-gone many days were not, that-in he riotous having-become
 āpnō jingānī hāl-kagōṭyō. Tō im karinē-par tē gāmō-mā
own property wasted-was-made. He so having-done-on that village-in
 jabar dukāl paḍinē ti-nē garībī ākhtī. Tō tē gāmō-mā
mighty famine having-fallen him-to poverty came. He that village-in
 ēk manekh-kan tsākri rhakhanyō. Ē manekh ti-nē khālmānyū
one man-near in-service remained. This man him swine
 charāwānō khētar-nē walāy gāryō. Tyā chhukkō kalwal
to-graze field-to sending was-given. There hungry afflicted
 thainē khālmānyū dutwānō kōṇḍō-bī duttī-nē dhōtriyō
having-become swine eaten husks-even having-eaten belly
 bhaglī-lētō-tō, pan ti-nē ki-kantū kāyī malyū naī. Im
filling-was, but him-to anybody-from anything was-got not. So
 thōknā din gaknyā, āpnō pāchānī wāt mālum paḍinē tō āpnā
few days passed, own former state known having-fallen he own
 man-mā kadyō, 'mārā yabā-kan rhayelnō ghanā tsākryāw-nē dhōtriyō
mind-in said, 'my father-near living many servants-to belly
 bhari-nē khuppar anpū maṭtū-tū; mī hyā chhukkō nikartaū.
having-filled above food obtained-was; I here hungry am-dying.
 Mī khubō-thārīnē yabā-kan jākninē kadyō, "yabā mī dēwtā-nū
I having-got-up father-near having-gone said, "father, by-me God-of

pāp yabā-nū pāp chhāndī lidyō. Mī tārā dikarō karinē
sin father-of sin having-tied was-taken. I thy son having-said
 chōllāwā jōgō naī. Ma-nē ēk tsākri dākal tārā-kan
to-be-called worthy not. Me one servant like of-thee-near
 mhēchvī-lē." Im kainē tyā-tō tō khubō-thārinē āpnā
keep." So having-said there-from he up-having-arisen own
 yabā-kan jākantō-tō. Pachē yabō dūr-tō ti-nē dēkhinē mayā
father-near going-was. Then father far-from him having-seen pity
 āvinē nikṭinē jākninē dhag-linē maṭṭi gāryō.
having-come having-run having-gone having-embraced kiss was-given.
 Pachē dikar yabā-nē kadyō, 'yabā, mī dēwtā-nū khāmō tārā
Then son father-to said, 'father, by-me God-of before of-thee
 khāmō nāpchī kagōtyō. Ma-nē tārā dikarō karinē chōlāwu
before sin was-done. Me thy son having-said to-call
 nakō.' I-nē yabō āpnō tsākarwālā-nē kadyō, 'chōkō chingā
is-not-fit.' This-to father own servants-to said, 'good dress
 lāvine mārā dikarā-nē ghāgōtō; nāpchā-mā khaṅgōṭi ghāgōtō,
having-brought my son-to put-on; finger-on ring put,
 pagō-mā jōdwā ghāgōtō; dutwān-nō tayāri kagōtō; ham dutti-nē
feet-on shoes put; dinner-of preparation make; we having-eaten
 santōs thauṅgā, sakarwā-kai-tō, yē mārō dikarō nikaryō-tō, phaglinē
merry shall-become, because, this my son dead-was, again
 jiwṭō āyō; nikṭinē gaknyō-tō, khāpdyō.' E khaikinē khārā
alive came; lost gone-was, was-found.' This having-heard all
 santōs thayā.
merry became.

Yē wakhat-mā ti-nō mōtō dikarō khētar-mā hotō. Tō khōl-kan
This time-in his elder son field-in was. He house-near
 āwtākhū ti-nē gānū nāchanū. khaikū āyū. Tō tē tsākar-wālā-mā
coming him-to singing dancing to-hear came. He those servants-among
 ek-nē chōlāyinē, 'sū thāwā lāgū-ch?' kadyō. Tyā-nō tō, 'tārō
one-to having-called, 'what becoming is?' said. Him-to he, 'thy
 bhāyī ākhtyō-ch; tō chōkō ākhtyō karinē dutwā kagōtyō,' im
brother came-even; he well came having-said dinner was-made,' so
 kadyō. Yē khaikinē mōtō dikarō rekh-āyinē māhi gaknyō
said. This having-heard elder son having-got-angry inside went
 naī, karinē ti-nō yabō baharō āvinē, 'māhi ākhtal,'
not, having-done his father outside having-come, 'inside come,'
 karinē ti-nē ghanō kadyō. Ti-nē tō āpnō yabā-nē kadyō, 'mī
having-said him-to much said. That-to he own father-to said, 'I

ekhlā warakh tallakh tārō tsākri kagōtīnē kadī tārī wāt
so-many years up-to thy service having-done ever thy command
 bhāgyō naī. Pan mī mārā mhairnē malīnē duṭwā
was-broken not. But I my friends having-gathered feast
 kagōṭwādē tū ma-nē kadī ēk bakrō-bī gāryō naī. Pantū
making-for thou me-to ever one goat-even was-given not. But
 rāṇḍ-nō sangat paḍīnē tārī jīngī khārī gaḷī-gayō-tō
harlots-of in-company having-fallen thy property all squandering-gone
 yē tārō dikarō khōl-nē ākḥaltākhū tū tī-nē walē duṭwā
this thy son house-to coming-on thou of-him for-the-sake dinner
 kagōtyō.' Yāhō dikarō-nē kadyō, 'tū mārā-kan nittē rhasī.
was-made.' Father son-to said, 'thou of-me-near always art.
 Mū-kan raheltō khārā tārā-ch mayē. Nikaryō-tō tārī bhāyī
Me-near being all thine-alone is. Dead-was thy brother
 phaglinē jiwto āyō; niktīnē gaknyō-tō, khāpdyō, karīnē ham santōs
again alive came; lost gone-was, was-found, having-said we merry
 thawānū barōbar chhē.
to-become proper is.'

[No. 55.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SIKALGÄRI.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ijāpur-mā ēk khyāpāryō kāpukh-nō ghanō khyāpār kagōṭṭō-tō. Ēk
Bijapur-in one merchant cotton-of large trade doing-was. One
 din tē gām-mā-tū kāyī nikḍiyā malinē wakat sādīnē
day that village-in-from some thieves having-gathered time having-sought
 tē khyāpāryā-nō khōl-mā-nū ghan kāpukh-nā gattā nikḍī karīnē
that merchant-of house-in-of many cotton-of bales stealing having-made
 li-gayā. Pachē to khyāpāryō bādsahā-kan jāknīnē āpnō khōl-mā
took-away. Then that merchant king-near having-gone own house-in
 nikḍī-thēl wāt kadyō. 'Im nikḍī thawānī ghanī sarmundī
theft-committed story told. 'So theft to-become very disgraceful
 wāt chhē; āj-nō din dharīnē chār din-mā tū tē nikḍiyā-nē
matter is; today-of day including four days-in thou those thieves
 naī dhaglyō-tō tārū mātū nikārunḡā,' im ti-nē hukum kagōṭyō. Yē
not caught-hast thy head will-cut-off,' so him-to order made. This
 wāt khaikīnē kotwāl nikḍiyā-nē patiyō kāḍwānē walē ghantōl
word having-heard kotwāl thieves-of way tracing for much
 khaṭpaṭ kagōṭyō, pan tē khāpḍyā naī.
labour did, but tney were-found not.
 Kheklā-mā bādsahā-nō gāral chār din kharīnē pāchmō din
This-much-in king-of given four days having-expired fifth day
 ākhtyō. 'Kotwāl-nō mātū nikārunḡā,' karīnē gām-mā ḍaṅgōrō
came. 'Kotwāl-of head will-cut-off,' having-said village-in drum
 khojādyō. Yē khaikīnē khārā kōyrā taḥmalyā; sakarwākaitō
was-beaten. This having-heard all people were-grieved; because
 kotwāl khārā-nē chōkō hotō. Yē khabar khaikīnē tē gām-mā-nō
kotwāl all-to dear was. This news having-heard that village-in-of
 ēk śyānō manekh bādsahā-kan jāknīnē hatō jōḍīnē māḡī
one clever man king-near having-gone hands having-joined begging
 lidyō.
was-taken.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A merchant in Bijapur was dealing in cotton on a large scale. One day some thieves from the city formed a gang and, seeking an opportunity, stole a number of cotton bales from the merchant's house. Then the merchant went to the King and informed him of the theft committed in his house. The King (sent for the Kotwāl) and gave him the following order, 'that such a theft should have been committed in my town, is really a disgrace. If you fail to trace the thieves within four days, I shall have you beheaded.' At this the Kotwāl tried his best to trace the thieves, but they were not found.

In the meantime the four days granted by the King expired, and the fifth day came. It was announced by the beating of drums that the Kotwāl was to be decapitated. All the people were grieved to hear this, for the Kotwāl was very popular. Hearing this news a clever man in the town went to the King, and joining his hands begged.

GULGULIĀ.

The Gulguliās are a wandering non-Aryan tribe, who live by hunting, teaching monkeys to dance, selling indigenous drugs, begging, and petty thieving. Sir Herbert Risley thinks that they are a branch of the Bediyās.

At the Census of 1911, 853 Gulguliās were returned, 824 from Bihar and Orissa and 29 from elsewhere.

No information about the language of the Gulguliās is available in Census Reports, and no such dialect was reported during the preliminary operations of this Survey. At the Census of 1901 it was, however, reported from the Hazaribagh District that the Gulguliās do not ordinarily speak a separate dialect, but that they make use of a kind of argot when they intend to prevent others from understanding what they say. Three short sentences in this jargon were forwarded to Sir Edward Gait, the then Superintendent of the Census operations in Bengal, and he has been good enough to place them at the disposal of this Survey. They show that this argot is of the same kind as other secret jargons. In the first place there are some peculiar words such as *ṭebigō*, fall; *lugigō*, died; *kutāchhi*, have eaten; *liōr*, tempest; *nēmru*, bullock; *nāhkat*, in the house. Some of these are well known from other argots, compare Sāsī *ṭaṇṇā*, fall; *lugnā*, die; *dūtṇā*, eat; *nād*, village; Garōḍī *nānd*, house. Besides this, ordinary words are disguised by changing their initials. Thus *kḥ* is substituted for *b* in *kḥiāḥ*=*biyāḥ*, wedding, and for *p* in *kheāch*=*pāch*, five; *jḥ* for *t* in *jḥin-gō*=*tīn*, three; *n* for *g* in *nāchh*=*gāchh*, tree, and so forth. I now give the sentences themselves with an inter-linear translation.

Kōrāet	liōr	ṭebigō;	jḥin-gō	nāchh	ṭebigō,	kheāch-gō	nēmru
<i>Last-night</i>	<i>a-tempest</i>	<i>fell;</i>	<i>three</i>	<i>trees</i>	<i>fell,</i>	<i>five</i>	<i>bullocks</i>

lugigō.
died.

Jhātu-sēti	nōpi	kutāchhi,	nāhkat	kōnāgi	nōpi	chhakhālō.
<i>Yesterday-from</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>eaten-have,</i>	<i>house-in</i>	<i>food (?)</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>is.</i>

Hamar	pānhir	kḥiāḥ	bḥēkhaligō,	jamāē	nāhkat	chhakhālō.
<i>My</i>	<i>daughter's</i>	<i>wedding</i>	<i>became,</i>	<i>son-in-law</i>	<i>house-in</i>	<i>is.</i>

**STANDARD LIST OF WORDS AND SENTENCES IN THE GIPSY
LANGUAGES.**

STANDARD LIST OF WORDS AND SENTENCES

English.	Ōḍkī (Cutch).	Sēsi (Ordinary).	Sēsi (Criminal).
1. One . . .	Ēk . . .	Ēk . . .	Bēk . . .
2. Two . . .	Ḍon . . .	Ḍo . . .	Dhōr . . .
3. Three . . .	Tin . . .	Tin . . .	Thēr . . .
4. Four . . .	Chār . . .	Chār . . .	Chaug . . .
5. Five . . .	Pāch . . .	Pañj . . .	Nāch . . .
6. Six . . .	Chha . . .	Chē . . .	Nhē . . .
7. Seven . . .	Sāt . . .	Sat . . .	Nhat . . .
8. Eight . . .	Āth . . .	Ath . . .	Kōth . . .
9. Nine . . .	Nau . . .	Nau . . .	Khañ . . .
10. Ten . . .	Ḍas . . .	Das . . .	Khas . . .
11. Twenty . . .	Vis . . .	Wi . . .	Khis . . .
12. Fifty . . .	Pachās . . .	Pañjah . . .	Nañjah . . .
13. Hundred . . .	Sō . . .	Sau . . .	Nhan . . .
14. I . . .	Hē . . .	Hañ . . .	Hañ . . .
15. Of me . . .	Māchā . . .	Mērē . . .	Mērgā . . .
16. Mine . . .	Māchā . . .	Mērā . . .	Mērgā . . .
17. We . . .	Amī . . .	Ham . . .	Ham . . .
18. Of us . . .	Am-chā . . .	Mhārē . . .	Mhārgā . . .
19. Our . . .	Am-chā . . .	Mhārā . . .	Mhārgā . . .
20. Thou . . .	Tū . . .	Taū . . .	Taū . . .
21. Of thee . . .	Tidhā . . .	Tērā . . .	Tērgā . . .
22. Thine . . .	Tidhā . . .	Tērē . . .	Tērgā . . .
23. You . . .	Tamī . . .	Tam . . .	Tam . . .
24. Of you . . .	Tam-chā . . .	Tuhārē . . .	Tuhārgā . . .
25. Your . . .	Tam-chā . . .	Tuhārā . . .	Tuhārgā . . .

Kōlhāṭī (Akola).	Gārōḍī.	Myānwālē.
Bāk	Ekṃū	Khāk
Dhōr	Dulmū	Dōg
Thār	Tinmū	Tēg
Nyār	Chyārṃū	Chōg
Nāch	Pāchmū	Nāch
Chhē	Chhēmū	Chhēlū
Sāttā	Sātmū	Nhatōlā
Wōṭha	Ātmū	Khōṭ
Naw	Naumū	Navēlū
Dābā	Dasmū	Dasēlū
Bis	Bismū	Nis
Nammās	Chāḷis-dasmū	Nachās
Sō	Saumū	Nhō
Hū	Mī	Mē
Mērā	Mērō	Mērō
Mērā	Mērō	Mērō
Ham	Ham	Hamē
Hamārā	Hamārō	Hamārō
Hamārā	Hamārō	Hamārō
Tū	Tū	Tā
Tērā	Tērō	Tērō
Tērā	Tērō	Tērō
Tam	Tum	Tumē
Tumārā	Tumārō	Tumārō
Tumārā	Tumārō	Tumārō

Kanjarī (Sitapur).	Kanjarī (Belgaum).	Naṭī (State Rampur).
Bēk; khakēlā	Ekkan	Bēk
Dubēlū	Jauḍ	Dhōr
Tibēlū	Dhallā	Phēr
Chabēlū	Arabā	Chauk
Pachēlū	Khammīs	Nāch
Chhabēlū	Thīs	Nhē
Satēlū	Khammīs-jauḍ	Nāth
Khaṭēlū	Khammīs-dhallā	Kōṭ
Namēlū	Oṇe-āsir	Khanau
Dasēlū	Āsir	Khas
Bisēlū	Mī	Khis
Rachās	Khādō-ṭhōkapō	Machās
Sawēlū	Ṭhōkapō	Khanū
Maĩ	Maĩ	Hū
Mērō	Mērō	Mērō
Mērō	Mērō	Mērō
Ham; maĩ	Hamē	Kham
Mērō	Hamārō	Khamārā
Mērō	Hamārō	Khamārā
Taĩ; tū	Yō	Nū
Tērō	Yurōkō	Tērā
Tērō	Yurōkō	Tērā
Taĩ; tū	Tumē	Num
Tērō	Tumārō	Numhārā
Tērō	Tumārō	Numhārā

IN THE GIPSY LANGUAGES

Qasī.	Sikalgiri (Belgaum).	English.
Ekkan	Ek	1. One.
Jand	Bē	2. Two.
Dhallā	Tan	3. Three.
Arbā	Chār	4. Four.
Khammis	Pāch	5. Five.
This	Chhē	6. Six.
Khammi-jand	Khāt	7. Seven.
Khammi-dhallā	Āt	8. Eight.
Onpā-āsir	Nan	9. Nine.
Āsir	Dakhālū	10. Ten.
Mi	Īkh	11. Twenty.
Pachyās	Bā-īkh-dakh	12. Fifty.
Thōkanā	Khō	13. Hundred.
Maī	Mī	14. I.
Mērā	Mārū	15. Of me.
Mērā	Mārū	16. Mine.
Hām	Ham	17. We.
Hamārā	Hamārū	18. Of us.
Hamārā	Hamārū	19. Our.
Tū	Tū	20. Thou.
Tērā	Tārū	21. Of thee.
Tērā	Tārū	22. Thine.
Tumē	Tumē	23. You.
Tumārā	Tumārū	24. Of you.
Tumārā	Tumārū	25. Your.

English.	Odhi (Cutch).	S&al (Ordinary).	S&al (Criminal).
26. He	Sā	Uh	Buh
27. Of him	Tē-chā	Uskā	Buskā
28. His	Tē-chā	Uskā	Buskā
29. They	Sā, (awā)	Uh	Buh
30. Of them	Tē-chā, (awā-chā)	Upkā	Bupkā
31. Their	Tē-chā, (awā-chā)	Upkā	Bupkā
32. Hand	Hāth	Hāth	Khōth
33. Foot	Pag	Pair	Nair
34. Nose	Nak	Nakk	Khakk
35. Eye	Ākh	Ākkh	Kukkhī
36. Mouth	Mō	Mūh	Khūh
37. Tooth	Dāt	Dand	Khadand
38. Ear	Kān	Kānn	Kānn
39. Hair	Wār	Bāl	Bāl
40. Head	Thōr	Sir	Nhis
41. Tongue	Jibh	Jibh	Jibh
42. Belly	Pēt	Pett	Nett
43. Back	Pāth	Pitt	Nitt
44. Iron	Lōdhē	Lohā	Lohā
45. Gold	Sōñē	Saunnā	Baunnā
46. Silver	Rūpē	Chāndī	Chāndī
47. Father	Bā	Bāpp	Bāptā
48. Mother	Āī	Mā	Mautī
49. Brother	Bhān	Bhāī	Bhantā
50. Sister	Bāp	Bāp	Dhabāp
51. Man	Māpas	Banda	Kodmi
52. Woman	Bāyī	Janāni	Bārmī

Kōlhāṭī (Akola).	Gārōḍī.	Myānwālē.
Ō	Wō	Ū
Us-kē	Wō-kē	Wako
Us-kā	Wō-kā	Wakō
Ō	Yē	Vē
Un-kē	Yē-kē	Wakōyi
Un-kā	Yē-kā	Wakōyi
Hōtta; kōhōt	Gōnō	Gōt
Pāw; gōnā	Gōnāli	Gōpō
Khanākka; nākka	Nakōchi	Khinak
Kokkha	Kanōchi	Gīdi
Khumma	Khōmā	Chhōpō
Nātta	Dāpā	Koḍ
Rānna	Kānōchi	Rikan
Nāy	Turwālē	Rai
Ṭammī	Ṭolchō	Niakō
Nib	Jibōchi	Jib
Nē	Dhamuklō	Rēpā
Niṭṭh	Panōchi	Niṭ
Lokhaṇḍ	Dharālī	Lhō
Bōnnā	Bōngā	Bōnō
Nāri	Gandilō	Nandī
Bēptā	Bhāwutō	Māwutō
Bhāwki	Māwuti	Māwuti
Bhāwtā	Bhākō	Rhākō
Bānchi	Bhanīchi	Rhākji
Kōdmi	Khadmi, or kējī	Khādmi
Kājji; hōtji	Kājī	Dāmi

Kaujarī (Sitapur).	Kanjarī (Belgaum).	Nāṭī (State Rampur).
Bihī; wō; hirō; ūr . . .	Ē	Wuh
Birō-kō; urū-kō . . .	Uroko	Nus-kā
Birō-kō; urū-kō . . .	Uroko	Nus-kā
Bihī; wō; hirō; ūr . . .	Ō	We
Birō-kō; urū-kō . . .	Unako	Nun-kā
Birō-kō; urū-kō . . .	Unako	Nun-kā
Kohat	Hattēto	Hōt
Gurārā, gurārā . . .	Gunḍāle	Nāḍ
Nak-hālī	Nakoṭā	Nākṭā
Ṭakhni	Khakōlē	Ūkh
Khōsar	Mōṇḍā	Khum
Dat-hālū	Datōlē	Khudāt
Kan-hālā	Kanōlē	Rān
Bar-hālā	Bālē	Khabāl
Mur-hālā	Śirō	Nōhas
Jim-hālī	Jibālī	Khajib
Piṭ-hālō	Pēṭo	Nēṭ
Piṭhālī	Piṭālī	Niṭh
Lohālō	Lhawō	Khalōyā
Rōnō	Sunnō	Būnā
Rādi	Chāndī	Khanādi
Bap-hālō	Bāpō	Khabāp; nāp
Mahtārī	Māiyyā	Khamā
Chibhālī	Bhai	Bhaoṭā
Bahin	Bhayan	Chhōn
Najāā; khādmī . . .	Kājarō	Kādmī
Najai	Kājari	Khēr

Qasāl.	Sikalgāri (Belgaum).	English.
Une	To	26. He.
Us-kā	Tinū	27. Of him.
Us-kā	Tinū	28. His.
Uno	Tā	29. They.
Un-kā	Tinā	30. Of them.
Un-kā	Tinā	31. Their.
Hatōṭā	Hatō	32. Hand.
Guḍāle	Pagō	33. Foot.
Phēkapi	Nakōḍi	34. Nose.
Akōpyā	Kāngi	35. Eye.
Mā	Mhōḍi	36. Mouth.
Chabne	Dāto	37. Tooth.
Kannōṭyā	Kānōḍā	38. Ear.
Bālā	Bālā	39. Hair.
Śir	Mātū	40. Head.
Minjāli	Jib	41. Tongue.
Khilā	Dhōtriyo	42. Belly.
Piṭ	Piṭōḍā	43. Back.
Lawhā	Lhōḍi	44. Iron.
Sūnā	Khōnū	45. Gold.
Khurā	Chāndi	46. Silver.
Bābā	Yabō	47. Father.
Āmmā	Yāyi	48. Mother.
Tuwānā-bhai (<i>elder</i>), subak-bhai (<i>younger</i>).	Bhāyi	49. Brother.
Bū (<i>elder</i>), bhān (<i>younger</i>)	Bhā	50. Sister.
Subākḍā	Manekh	51. Man.
Subākḍi	Bāyko	52. Woman.

English.	Ōḍki (Cutch).	Sāsi (Ordinary).	Sāsi (Criminal).
53. Wife	Waū	Rann	Bārmī
54. Child	Chhōyā	Mūṇḍā, mūṇḍi	Bōrā; bōri
55. Son	Pāt	Pāt	Bōrō
56. Daughter	Dhā	Dhi	Bōri
57. Slave	Golām	Ghulām	Ghulām
58. Cultivator	Khōrū	Kajjā	Khōtā
59. Shepherd	Bharuār	Ājri, ajāri	Ājri, ajāri
60. God	Bhagwān	Khudā	Rudāh
61. Devil	Dait	Shaitān	Shaitān
62. Sun	Sūraj	Sūraj	Nūraj
63. Moon	Chandar	Chann	Chann
64. Star	Tārā	Tārā	Tārā
65. Fire	Tādhā	Āgg	Pīngi, kōgg
66. Water	Pāṇi	Pāṇi	Chāf
67. House	Ghar	Ghar	Khaulā
68. Horse	Gorā	Ghōrā	Kūdrā
69. Cow	Gāy	Gā	Lālai
70. Dog	Kutā	Kūtā	Bhūkal
71. Cat	Minā	Baliā	Koniā, dhesrā
72. Cook	Kukrā	Kūkar	Kūkar
73. Duck	Badak	Batak	Batak
74. Ass	Gārō	Khōtā	Gaupā
75. Camel	Ūth	Ūth	Thāb
76. Bird	Pakhi	(Little) Chīyā, pañchhi	Nīyā
77. Go	Jā	Japā	Jarpā
78. Eat	Khā	Khāpā	Dātpā
79. Sit	Bās	Baispā	Thāfūpā

Kōlhātī (Akola).	Gārōḍī.	Mṛānwālā.
Bhatūnī	Nathyā	Bair
Kajētā	Lāwḍ	Gelp
Chhōrā	Lāwḍ	Gelp
Chhōrī	Lāwḍī	Gelpī
Lōḍā	Dhikm	Nāngḍī
Nēhatkari	Rēt	Dhupabi
Bannagar	Dhanētyā	Dhangar
Nēw	Dēmā	Khidēw
Chhut	Bhutm	Nhūt
Nhuriyā	Suriyā	Nhuriyā
Nān	Chandīchi	Chānd
Nārā	Tārāī	Tārō
Kōgga	Dghūlaḍgī	Kichī
Chēni	Nirmā	Chāyī
Khōggā	Nānd	Khōk
Rhōḍā	Ghōḍ	Ghōḍchō
Rāy	Kāwā	Gāyī
Dhōkkal	Dghagā	Jukālā
Kuḍki	Jilētī	Nilayī
Kuḍā	Pakā	Chhurgā
Nadak	Badak	Nadak
Rāddhu	Khārsā	Napērā
Khēt	Huṇṭ	Khūt
Nanāwar	Chīḍī	Chāgīā
Jāss	Dghāyil	Hīṭwāḍ
Dutta	Bēt	Dutwāḍ
Bē	Thig	Tāswāḍ

Kanjarī (Sitapur).	Kanjarī (Belgaum).	Naṭī (State Rampur).
Mehrrārū	Jō	Chhū
.....	Bachchā	Khabālak
Chūbkō	Baiḍō	Bōrā
Chūbki	Baiḍi	Bōri
Gulambhō	Palakḍō	Gulām
Khit-hēlō	Rait	Rasān
Dharariā	Dhangar	Raṇḍariyā
Rām	Mahābūb	Nanmēśwar
Bhut-hēlō	Saitāne	Khabhūt
Suraj-hēlō	Surūj	Nūraj
Chand-hēlō	Chānd	Khanād
Tar-hēlā	Tārō	Khatārā
Jhurai	Angārō	Ōg
Nimāni	Niwāni	Chhañ
Rib	Nandō	Lōhallā
Ghurārō	Ghōḍō	Rōharḥā
Nāḍli	Gāyō	Tiyārgi rās
Jhūkil	Kuttō	Jhumkar
Bilaiā	Billi	Khablāi
Murgā	Muragā	Khamurg
Radak	Batkē	Tiyārgi nadak
Gādhā	Gaddō	Rōhā
Uṭ-hēlō	Hūt	Hūt
Chirai	Parinde	Narand
Jaugh	Nikhar	Jāsūrō
Dut	Thūr	Doti lō
Raith	Chaiṭ	Thōki jāo

Qasli.	Sikalgiri (Belgaum).	English.
Jōrū	Ranban	53. Wife.
Bachchā	Pottū	54. Child.
Kachēlā	Dikarō	55. Son.
Kachēlī	Dikari	56. Daughter.
Hājibādā	Lōkṭō	57. Slave.
Rait	Rhait	58. Cultivator.
Dhangar	Dhangar	59. Shepherd.
Allā	Dēwṭō	60. God.
Śaitān	Bhutaḍū	61. Devil.
Surij	Din	62. Sun.
Chānd	Chānd	63. Moon.
Tārā	Chāndī	64. Star.
Āngār	Āg	65. Fire.
Nirgā	Pāni	66. Water.
Nann	Khōl	67. House.
Ghōḍā	Chhimnō	68. Horse.
Bhakkar	Gāyḍi	69. Cow.
Kuttā	Kutrō	70. Dog.
Billi	Billāḍi	71. Cat.
Muragā	Kukḍō	72. Cock.
Badak muragi	Badak	73. Duck.
Gadaḍā	Gadaḍū	74. Ass.
Hāṭ	Hāṭ	75. Camel.
Parindā	Pakhrā	76. Bird.
Khu	Jākan	77. Go.
Śaḍ	Dut	78. Rat.
Batwāḍ	Bukhal	79. Sit.

English.	Ôđki (Catch).	Sĩai (Ordinary).	Sĩai (Criminal).
80. Come . . .	Ăw . . .	Aupă . . .	Asră . . .
81. Beat . . .	Măr . . .	Mără . . .	Lônă . . .
82. Stand . . .	Ūbh . . .	Khlônă . . .	Khlônă; kha|ă or ra|ă hōpnă
83. Die . . .	Mar . . .	Mară . . .	Lugnă . . .
84. Give . . .	Dē . . .	Dēpă . . .	Dēpnă . . .
85. Run . . .	Dhōr . . .	Nasnă, daună . . .	Bīpnă . . .
86. Up . . .	Măthē . . .	Ufară . . .	Khūpar . . .
87. Near . . .	Parăhē-mă . . .	Nērē . . .	Phanērē . . .
88. Down . . .	Nichē . . .	Tală . . .	Tală . . .
89. Far . . .	Parē . . .	Dūr . . .	Khadūr . . .
90. Before . . .	Mōrē . . .	Aggē . . .	Kuggē . . .
91. Behind . . .	Wāsē . . .	Pichhē . . .	Nichhē . . .
92. Who . . .	Kōp . . .	Kaup . . .	Kaup . . .
93. What . . .	Kāy . . .	Kyā . . .	Kyā . . .
94. Why . . .	Kulāy . . .	Kyū . . .	Kyū . . .
95. And . . .	Anē . . .	Tē . . .	Tē . . .
96. But . . .	Paṇ . . .	Par . . .	Par . . .
97. If . . .	Jō . . .	Jēkar, jē . . .	Jēkar jē . . .
98. Yes . . .	Hā . . .	Āhō . . .	Āāē . . .
99. No . . .	Nā . . .	Na . . .	Na . . .
100. Alas . . .	Arē . . .	Hāē . . .	Hāē . . .
101. A father . . .	Bā . . .	Bāpp . . .	Bāptā . . .
102. Of a father . . .	Bā-chā . . .	Bāppā-gā (-gē, -gī, -giă) . . .	Bāptē-gā . . .
103. To a father . . .	Bā-nē . . .	Bāppā-gū . . .	Bāptē-gū . . .
104. From a father . . .	Bā-ti . . .	Bāppā-thō . . .	Bāptē-thō . . .
105. Two fathers . . .	Don bā . . .	Do bāpp . . .	Dhōr bāptē . . .
106. Fathers . . .	Bā . . .	Bāpp . . .	Bāptē . . .

Kōlhātī (Akola).	Gārōḍī.	Myānwālā.
Nyākūṣ	Hāyil	Barwād
Thāy	Lugā	Lōt
Ubā rahō	Khūt-kō khub-rā	Khub-rōk
Luki jā	Lug	Lugit
Dēppa	Walā	Khichwād
Nhas	Nimal	Chigawād
Uprō	Khūpar	Khūpar
Najik	Kan	Khurō
Tanhō	Tan	Talkō
Dur	Dār	Dāg
Sāmō	Khagāḍī	Khagāḍī
Pichohhō	Dhichāḍī	Ripchō
Kōp; yō	Kōn	Kun
Kyā	Kō	Kā
Kyō	Kaikō	Kaykā
An	Haur	Or
Par; narantu	Lēkin	Lēkin
Jab	To	To
Hāw	Hoy	Hā
Nāhāpi	Hapenā	Nāī
Arōrō	Arō	Ayyō
Bāptā	Ek-mā bhāwutō	Khōk māwutō
Bāptō-kā	Ek-mā bhāwutō-kō	Khōk māwutō-kō
Bāptō-ku	Ek-mā bhāwutō-kū	Khōk māwutō-kū
Bāppā-ṭhō-sī	Ek-mā bhāwutō-sī	Khōk māwutō-sī
Dhōr bāptō	Dul-mā bhāwutō	Dōg māwutō
Bāpō	Bhāwutō	Māwutō

English.	Ōḍkī (Cutch).	Sāsi (Ordinary).	Sāsi (Criminal).
107. Of fathers . . .	Bāwā-chā . . .	Bappē-gā . . .	Bāptē-gā . . .
108. To fathers . . .	Bāwā-nē . . .	Bappē-gū . . .	Bāptē-gū . . .
109. From fathers . . .	Bāwā-tī . . .	Bappē-thō . . .	Bāptē-thō . . .
110. A daughter . . .	Dhū . . .	Dhī . . .	Borī . . .
111. Of a daughter . . .	Dhū-chā; dhūi-chā, etc. . .	Dhīā-gā . . .	Borīā-gā . . .
112. To a daughter . . .	Dhū-nē . . .	Dhīā-gū . . .	Borīā-gū . . .
113. From a daughter . . .	Dhū-tī . . .	Dhīā-thō . . .	Borīā-thō . . .
114. Two daughters . . .	Dōn dhuā . . .	Dō dhīā . . .	Dhōr borīā . . .
115. Daughters . . .	Dhuā . . .	Dhīā . . .	Borīā . . .
116. Of daughters . . .	Dhuā-chā . . .	Dhīē-gā . . .	Borīē-gā . . .
117. To daughters . . .	Dhuā-nē . . .	Dhīē-gū . . .	Borīē-gū . . .
118. From daughters . . .	Dhuā-tī . . .	Dhīē-thō . . .	Borīē-thō . . .
119. A good man . . .	Sārā mānas . . .	Chāngā (or nēk) ādmī (or banda).	Chēngūā kōdmī . . .
120. Of a good man . . .	Sārā mānsā-chā . . .	Chāngē ādmīā-gā (or bandē-gā).	Chēngūē kōdmīā-gā . . .
121. To a good man . . .	Sārā mānsā-nē . . .	Chāngē ādmīā-gū . . .	Chēngūē kōdmīā-gū . . .
122. From a good man . . .	Sārā mānsā-tī . . .	Chāngē ādmīā-thō . . .	Chēngūē kōdmīā-thō . . .
123. Two good men . . .	Dōn sārā mānsē . . .	Dō chāngē ādmī . . .	Dhōr chēngūē kōdmī . . .
124. Good men . . .	Sārā mānsē . . .	Chāngē ādmī (or bandē) . . .	Chēngūē kōdmī . . .
125. Of good men . . .	Sārā mānsā-chā . . .	Chāngē ādmīē-gā . . .	Chēngūē kōdmīē-gā . . .
126. To good men . . .	Sārā mānsā-nē . . .	Chāngē ādmīē-gū . . .	Chēngūē kōdmīē-gū . . .
127. From good men . . .	Sārā mānsā-tī . . .	Chāngē ādmīē-thō . . .	Chēngūē kōdmīē-thō . . .
128. A good woman . . .	Sārī bāyī . . .	Chāngī janānī . . .	Chēngūī bārmī . . .
129. A bad boy . . .	Nikām chhōyī . . .	Bhāīrā mūḍā . . .	Nhāīrā (or nharāb) bōrā . . .
130. Good women . . .	Sārīā bāyīā . . .	Chāngīā janānīā . . .	Chēngūīā bārmīā . . .
131. A bad girl . . .	Nikām chhōyī . . .	Bhāīrī mūḍī . . .	Nhāīrī (or nharāb) bōrī . . .
132. Good . . .	Sārā . . .	Chāngā . . .	Chēngūā . . .
133. Better . . .	Wadhārō sārā . . .	[Is thō or is satthā] chāngā . . .	[Bis thō or bis satthā] chēngūā . . .

Kōllātī (Akola).	Gārōḍī.	Myānwālē.
Bāptē-kā . . .	Bhāwutē-kō . . .	Māwutē-kō . . .
Bāptē-ṭhō . . .	Bhāwutē-kū . . .	Māwutē-kū . . .
Bāptē-ṭhō-sī . . .	Bhāwutē-sī . . .	Māwutē-sī . . .
Chhōrī . . .	Ek-mū lāwḍī . . .	Khēk gelpī . . .
Chhōrī-kā . . .	Ek-mū lāwḍī-kō . . .	Khēk gelpī-kō . . .
Chhōrī-ku . . .	Ek-mū lāwḍī-kū . . .	Khēk gelpī-kū . . .
Chhōrī-ṭhō-sī . . .	Ek-mū lāwḍī-sē . . .	Khēk gelpī-sē . . .
Dhōr chhōriyā . . .	Dul-mū lāwḍī . . .	Dōg gelpī . . .
Chhōriyā . . .	Lāwḍī . . .	Gelpī . . .
Chhōriyā-kā . . .	Lāwḍī-kō . . .	Gelpī-kō . . .
Chhōriyā-ku . . .	Lāwḍī-kū . . .	Gelpī-kū . . .
Chhōriyā-ṭhō-sī . . .	Lāwḍī-sē . . .	Gelpī-sē . . .
Kōchchhā kōdmi . . .	Ek-mū chisam khadmi . . .	Khēk khāchō khādmi . . .
Kōchchhā kōdmiyā-kā . . .	Ek-mū chisam khadmi-kō . . .	Khēk khāchō khādmi-kō . . .
Kōchchhā kōdmiyā-ku . . .	Ek-mū chisam khadmi-kū . . .	Khēk khāchō khādmi-kū . . .
Kōchchhā kōdmiyā-ṭhō-sī . . .	Ek-mū chisam khadmi-sē . . .	Khēk khāchō khādmi-sē . . .
Dhōr bhalē kōdmi . . .	Dul-mū chisam khadmi . . .	Dōg khāchō khādmi . . .
Bhalē kōdmi . . .	Chisam khadmi . . .	Khāchō khādmi . . .
Bhalē kōdmiyā-kā . . .	Chisam khadmi-kō . . .	Khāchō khādmi-kō . . .
Bhalē kōdmiyā-ku . . .	Chisam khadmi-kū . . .	Khāchō khādmi-kū . . .
Bhalē kōdmiyā-ṭhō-sī . . .	Chisam khadmi-sē . . .	Khāchō khādmi-sē . . .
Hēṭṭī kōsal . . .	Ek-mū chisam kāṭī . . .	Khēk nīri dāmī . . .
Burā chhōrā . . .	Ek-mū bilēḍ lāwḍō . . .	Khēk sugāṇō gēlō . . .
Kōsal hēṭṭiyā . . .	Chisam kāṭī . . .	Nīri dāmī . . .
Būṭī kajṭī . . .	Ek-mū bilēḍ lāwḍī . . .	Khēk sugāṇī gēlī . . .
Kōsal; achchhā . . .	Chisam . . .	Khāchō . . .
Achchhā . . .	Istī chisam . . .	Wā-sē-bī khāchō . . .

Kanjarī (Sitapur).	Kanjarī (Belgaum).	Naṭī (State Rampur).
Bap-hēlā-kā . . .	Bāpañ-kā . . .	Khabāpō-rā . . .
Bap-hēlā-kū . . .	Bāpañ-ku . . .	Khabāpō-rō . . .
Bap-hēlā-sē . . .	Bāpañ-se . . .	Khabāpō-rē . . .
Chūbki . . .	Ekkañ baiḍi . . .	Bēk bōri . . .
Chūbki-kā . . .	Ekkañ baiḍi-kā . . .	Bēk bōri-rā . . .
Chūbki-kū . . .	Ekkañ baiḍi-ku . . .	Bēk bōri-rō . . .
Chūbki-sē . . .	Ekkañ baiḍi-se . . .	Bēk bōri-rē . . .
Dubēlū chūbki . . .	Jauḍ baiḍē . . .	Dhōr bōriyā . . .
Chūbki . . .	Baiḍē . . .	Chhūt bōriyā . . .
Chūbki-kā . . .	Baiḍē-kā . . .	Bōriyō-rā . . .
Chūbki-kū . . .	Baiḍē-ku . . .	Bōriyō-rō . . .
Chūbki-sē . . .	Baiḍē-se . . .	Bōriyō-rē . . .
Khachchhō najañ . . .	Ekkañ niro kājarō . . .	Bēk kuchchhā kūdmī . . .
Khachchhō najañ-kā . . .	Ekkañ niro kājarō-kā . . .	Bēk kuchchhā kūdmī-rā . . .
Khachchhō najañ-kū . . .	Ekkañ niro kājarō-ku . . .	Bēk kuchchhā kūdmī-rō . . .
Khachchhō najañ-sē . . .	Ekkañ niro kājarō-se . . .	Bēk kuchchhā kūdmī-rē . . .
Dubēlū khachchhō najañ . . .	Jauḍō niro kājarā . . .	Dhōr kuchchhā kūdmī . . .
Khachchhō najañ . . .	Niro kājarā . . .	Chhūt kuchchhā kūdmī . . .
Khachchhō najañ-kā . . .	Niro kājarā-kā . . .	Kuchchhā kūdmiyō-rā . . .
Khachchhō najañ-kū . . .	Niro kājarā-ku . . .	Kuchchhā kūdmiyō-rō . . .
Khachchhō najañ-sē . . .	Niro kājarā-se . . .	Kuchchhā kūdmiyō-rē . . .
Khachchhi najai . . .	Ekkañ niri kājari . . .	Bēk kuchchhā khēr . . .
Dharāb chūbkō . . .	Ekkañ kargāl baiḍō . . .	Bēk rarāb bōrā . . .
Khachchhi najai . . .	Niri kājarē . . .	Kuchchhā khēriyā . . .
Dharāb chūbki . . .	Ekkañ kargāl baiḍi . . .	Bēk rarāb bōri . . .
Khachchh . . .	Niro . . .	Kuchchhā . . .
-----	Us-dē niro . . .	Chhūt kuchchhā . . .

Qanli.	Sikalgūri (Belgaum).	English.
Bābā-kā	Yabā-nō	107. Of fathers.
Bābā-tā	Yabā-nē	108. To fathers.
Bābā-se	Yabā-tō	109. From fathers.
Ekkaṇ kachēli	Ek dikari	110. A daughter.
Ekkaṇ kachēli-kā	Ek dikari-nō	111. Of a daughter.
Ekkaṇ kachēli-kū	Ek dikari-nē	112. To a daughter.
Ekkaṇ kachēli-se	Ek dikari-tō	113. From a daughter.
Jaṇḍ kachēlyā	Bē dikariyā	114. Two daughters.
Kachēlyā	Dikariyā	115. Daughters.
Kachēlyā-kā	Dikariyā-nō	116. Of daughters.
Kachēlyā-kū	Dikariyā-nē	117. To daughters.
Kachēlyā-se	Dikariyā-tō	118. From daughters.
Ekkaṇ śēbit subūkdā	Ek chōkū manekh	119. A good man.
Ekkaṇ śēbit subūkdā-kā	Ek chōkū manekh-nō	120. Of a good man.
Ekkaṇ śēbit subūkdā-kū	Ek chōkū manekh-nē	121. To a good man.
Ekkaṇ śēbit subūkdā-se	Ek chōkū manekh-tō	122. From a good man.
Jaṇḍo śēbit subūkdē	Bē chōkā mankhō	123. Two good men.
Śēbit subūkdē	Chōkā mankhō	124. Good men.
Śēbit subūkdē-kā	Chōkā mankhō-nō	125. Of good men.
Śēbit subūkdē-kū	Chōkā mankhō-nē	126. To good men.
Śēbit subūkdē-se	Chōkā mankhō-tō	127. From good men.
Ekkaṇ śēbit subūkdi	Ek chōki hāyko	128. A good woman.
Ekkaṇ hajīb chhōrā or chhanakā	Ek khattar chhōknō	129. A bad boy.
Śēbit subūkdīyā	Chōkiyō bākdīyō	130. Good women.
Ekkaṇ hajīb chhōri or chhanaki	Ek khattar chhōkni	131. A bad girl.
Śēbit	Chōko	132. Good.
Iṭṭi śēbit	Iṭṭi chōko	133. Better.

English.	Ōḍki (Cutch).	Sāsī (Ordinary).	Sāsī (Criminal).
134. Best . . .	Badhā-ti sārā . . .	[Sabhnē satthā] chaṅgā . . .	[Sabhnē satthā] chēngūā . . .
135. High . . .	Ūchā . . .	Uchchā . . .	Khuchchā . . .
136. Higher . . .	Wadhārē ūchā . . .	[Is thō] uchchā . . .	[Bis thō] khuchchā . . .
137. Highest . . .	Badhā-thi ūchā . . .	[Sabhnē satthā] uchchā . . .	[Sabhnē satthā] khuchchā . . .
138. A horse . . .	Gorā, (hisapā) . . .	Ghorā . . .	Kādrā . . .
139. A mare . . .	Gorī, (hispi) . . .	Ghorī . . .	Kādrī . . .
140. Horses . . .	Gorē . . .	Ghorē . . .	Kādrē . . .
141. Mares . . .	Gorā . . .	Ghorā . . .	Kādrā . . .
142. A bull . . .	Godhā, dhagā . . .	Dhaggā . . .	Kāngal . . .
143. A cow . . .	Gāy . . .	Gā . . .	Lālsī . . .
144. Bulls . . .	Godhē, dhagē . . .	Dhaggē . . .	Kāngal . . .
145. Cows . . .	Gāiā . . .	Gā . . .	Lālsī . . .
146. A dog . . .	Kutā . . .	Kūtā . . .	Bhūkal . . .
147. A bitch . . .	Kutī . . .	Kutti . . .	Bhūkli . . .
148. Dogs . . .	Kutē . . .	Kūtē . . .	Bhūkal . . .
149. Bitches . . .	Kutiā . . .	Kuttiā . . .	Bhūkliā . . .
150. A he goat . . .	Bakrā . . .	Bakrā . . .	Chhābrā . . .
151. A female goat . . .	Bakrī . . .	Bakrī . . .	Chhābrī . . .
152. Goats . . .	Bakrē . . .	Bakrē . . .	Chhābrē . . .
153. A male deer . . .	Hēp . . .	Harn . . .	Harn . . .
154. A female deer . . .	Hēpi . . .	Harnī . . .	Harnī . . .
155. Deer . . .	Hēp . . .	Harn . . .	Harn . . .
156. I am . . .	Hē sē . . .	Haū haī . . .	Haū hōpē . . .
157. Thou art . . .	Tū ai . . .	Taū haī . . .	Taū hōpē . . .
158. He is . . .	Sū sē . . .	Uh hai . . .	Buh hōpē . . .
159. We are . . .	Amī sū . . .	Ham hā . . .	Ham hōpē . . .
160. You are . . .	Tamī sawā . . .	Tam hō . . .	Tam hōpē . . .

Kōlhāṭī (Akola).	Gārōḍī.	Mylāwālī.
Achchhā . . .	Ḍabī chisam . . .	Nabaḷḷe-sī khāchō . . .
Khuchchhā . . .	Khuchchō . . .	Khunchō . . .
.....	Istī khuchchō . . .	Wā-sḷ-bī khunchō . . .
.....	Ḍabī khuchchō . . .	Nabaḷḷe-sī khunchō . . .
Rhōḷā . . .	Ek-mū ghōṛṭō . . .	Khāk ghōḷchō . . .
Rhōḷī . . .	Ek-mū ghōṛṭī . . .	Khāk ghōḷchī . . .
Rhōḷḷe . . .	Ghōṛṭḷe . . .	Ghōḷchḷe . . .
Rhōḷīyā . . .	Ghōṛṭī . . .	Ghōḷchī . . .
Bēl . . .	Ek-mū kāwāḷ . . .	Khāk nāl . . .
Rāy . . .	Ek-mū kāwāl . . .	Khāk gāyī . . .
Bēl . . .	Kāwāḷ . . .	Nāl . . .
Rāyī . . .	Kāwāl . . .	Gāyī . . .
Ḍhōkkal . . .	Ek-mū ḍhuglā . . .	Khāk jukālā . . .
Ruttī . . .	Ek-mū ḍhuglī . . .	Khāk jukālī . . .
Ḍhōkkal . . .	Ḍhuglā . . .	Jukālā . . .
Ruttīyā . . .	Ḍhuglī . . .	Jukālī . . .
Nōkkaḍ . . .	Ek-mū rēmṇā . . .	Khāk nōkkaḍā . . .
Nōkkaḍī . . .	Ek-mū rēmṇī . . .	Khāk rucālī . . .
Nōkkaḍ . . .	Rēmṇā . . .	Nōkkaḍe . . .
Raṭṭī khōran . . .	Nar harṭī . . .	Khāk dhālṭī kharap . . .
Khōrani . . .	Māḷī harṭī . . .	Khāk nāḍī kharap . . .
Khōran . . .	Harṭī . . .	Kharap . . .
Hū hē . . .	Mī hapelū . . .	Mā hū . . .
Tū hē . . .	Tī hapelā . . .	Tā hū . . .
Ō ne . . .	Wō hapelā . . .	Ū hū . . .
Ham hē . . .	Ham hapelū . . .	Hamā hū . . .
Tam hē . . .	Tam hapelā . . .	Tamā hū . . .

Kanjarī (Sitapur).	Kanjarī (Belgaum)	Naṭī (State Rampur).
.....	Byādik nīrō	Rab-rē kuchehlā . .
Khūchō	Khuñchō	Khōchā
.....	Us-dē khuñchō	Chhūt khōchā
.....	Byādik khuñchō	Rab-rē khōchā
Ghurārō	Ekkaṇ ghōḍō	Bēk ruhaṇchā
Ghurārī	Ekkaṇ ghōḍī	Bēk ruhaṇchī
Rahut ghurārō	Ghōḍā	Ruhaṇchē
Rahut ghurārī	Ghōḍē	Ruhaṇchiyā
Sār-hālō	Ekkaṇ pādō	Bēk lōd
Nādhī	Ekkaṇ gāyō	Bēk tiyārgī rāō
.....	Pādā	Nāḍ
.....	Gāyō	Tiyārgī rāō
Jhūkil	Ekkan kuttō	Bēk chhumkar
Jhūkilī	Ekkaṇ kuttī	Bēk chhumkarī
.....	Kuttā	Chhūt chhumkar
.....	Kuttē	Chhūt chhumkariyā
Rakrā	Ekkaṇ bakarō	Bēk chakrā
Rakrī	Ekkaṇ bakarī	Bēk chakrī
Rakrā	Bakarā	Chakriyā
Khirin	Ekkaṇ harn	Kharan
Khirnī	Ekkaṇ harnī	Kharnī
Khirin	Harnē	Chhūt kharan
Maī hughā	Maī hō	Khō rō
Taī hughē	Yō hō	Khanū hōchō
Wo haughē	Ē hō	Woh hōchē
Ham haughē; maī hughā	Hamē hō	Kham hōchē
Taī hughō	Tumē hō	Nam hōchō

Qasā.	Sikalgāri (Belgaum).	English.
Sab-se sēbit	Ghanō chōkō	134. Best.
Uncha	Uchchō	135. High.
Istī unchā	Istī uchchō	136. Higher.
Sab-se unchā	Ghanō uchchō	137. Highest.
Ekkaṇ ghōḍā	Ek chhimnō	138. A horse.
Ekkaṇ ghōḍī	Ek chhimni	139. A mare.
Ghōḍē	Chhimnā	140. Horses.
Ghōḍyā	Chhimniyō	141. Mares.
Ekkaṇ pādā	Ek pādō	142. A bull.
Ekkaṇ bhakkar	Ek gāyḍī	143. A cow.
Pādē	Pādā	144. Bulls.
Bhakkarā	Gāyḍiō	145. Cows.
Ekkaṇ kuttā	Ek kutrō	146. A dog.
Ekkaṇ kuttī	Ek kutri	147. A bitch.
Kuttē	Kutrā	148. Dogs.
Kuttyā	Kutriyō	149. Bitches.
Ekkaṇ bakarā	Ek bakrō	150. A he goat.
Ekkaṇ chhēlī	Ek bakri	151. A female goat.
Bakarē	Bakrā	152. Goats.
Ekkaṇ nar haraṇ	Ek harpō	153. A male deer.
Ekkaṇ mādi haraṇ	Ek harpi	154. A female deer.
Haraṇā	Harpā	155. Deer.
Māi thārtā	Mī chhē	156. I am.
Tū thārtā	Tū chhē	157. Thou art.
Uḥē thārtā	Tō chhē	158. He is.
Ham thārtē	Ham chhē	159. We are.
Tume thārtē	Tum chhē	160. You are.

English.	ଓଡ଼ିଆ (Cutch).	ଶିକ୍ଷା (Ordinary).	ଶିକ୍ଷା (Criminal).
161. They are . . .	Sā ai . . .	Uh haĩ . . .	Buh hōpē . . .
162. I was . . .	Hē silā . . .	Haũ thiyyā (or siyyā, etc.)	Haũ thiyyā (or siyyā, etc.)
163. Thou wast . . .	Tũ silā . . .	Taũ thiyyā . . .	Taũ thiyyā . . .
164. He was . . .	Sā silā . . .	Uh thiyyā . . .	Buh thiyyā . . .
165. We were . . .	Amĩ silē . . .	Ham thiyyē . . .	Ham thiyyē . . .
166. You were . . .	Tamĩ silē . . .	Tam thiyyē . . .	Tam thiyyē . . .
167. They were . . .	Sā silē . . .	Uh thiyyē . . .	Buh thiyyē . . .
168. Be . . .	Hō . . .	Hō (sing.), hōwō (plur.) . . .	Hōp, hōpō . . .
169. To be . . .	Hōpē . . .	Hōpā . . .	Hōpā . . .
170. Being . . .	Hōtā . . .	Hōtā . . .	Hōptā . . .
171. Having been . . .	Hōtinē . . .	Hōikē . . .	Hōpi kē . . .
172. I may be . . .	Hē hawē . . .	Haũ hōwē . . .	Haũ hōpē . . .
173. I shall be . . .	Hē havĩ; hē havĩnē . . .	Haũ hōngrā . . .	Hōpāngrā . . .
174. I should be . . .	Machē halē khapē . . .	Haũ hōtā . . .	Hōptā . . .
175. Beat . . .	Mār . . .	Mār, mārō . . .	Lō, lōō . . .
176. To beat . . .	Māypē . . .	Mārā . . .	Lōpā . . .
177. Beating . . .	Mārti . . .	Mārtā . . .	Lōtā . . .
178. Having beaten . . .	Mārtinē . . .	Mārikē . . .	Lōikē . . .
179. I beat . . .	Hē mārē sē . . .	Haũ mārta haĩ . . .	Haũ lōtā hōpē . . .
180. Thou beatest . . .	Tũ mārī si . . .	Taũ mārta haĩ . . .	Taũ lōtā hōpē . . .
181. He beats . . .	Sā mārē sē . . .	Uh mārta hai . . .	Buh lōtā hōpē . . .
182. We beat . . .	Amĩ mārē sū . . .	Ham mārte hā . . .	Ham lōtē hōpē . . .
183. You beat . . .	Tamĩ mārē sawā . . .	Tam mārte hō . . .	Tam lōtē hōpē . . .
184. They beat . . .	Sā mārī si . . .	Uh mārte haĩ . . .	Buh lōtē hōpē . . .
185. I beat (Past Tense) . . .	Mē mārīē . . .	Maĩ mārīā . . .	Maĩ lōyā . . .
186. Thou beatest (Past Tense). . .	Tē mārīā . . .	Taĩ mārīā . . .	Taĩ lōyā . . .
187. He beat (Past Tense) . . .	Tēpē mārīā . . .	Up mārīā . . .	Bup lōyā . . .

Kōihātē (Akola).	Gārōḍī.	Myānwāḍō.
Vē hē	Yē hapelā	Vē hā
Hū thiyā	Mī chhō	Mē hi
Tū thiyā	Tū chhō	Tū hi
Ō thiyā	Wō chhō	Ū hi
Ham thiyē	Ham chhō	Hamē hi
Tam thiyē	Tam chhō	Tamē hi
Vē thiyē	Yē chhō	Vē hi
Hō	Rhapel	Rhē
Hōnā	Rhapel-nē-kō	Rhēnēkū
Hōtā	Rhapel-tō	Rhētā
Huwā hē	Rhapelēsō	Rhōkō
Hū hōnā	Mī rhapelnūgā	Mē rhanūgā
Hū hōngḍō	Mī rhapelungō	Mē rhanūgō
Hū hōnā	Mī rhapelungōch	Mē rhēnēkū hōpū
Mār	Lugā	Lōt
Mārēnā	Lugankū	Lōtnēkū
Mārtā	Lugātō	Lōttē
Māryā hē	Lugāko	Lōt-kō
Hū mārtā	Mī lugau	Mē lōtū
Tū mārtā	Tū lugau	Tū lōtū
Ō mārtā	Wō lugau	Ū lōtū
Ham mārtō	Ham lugau	Hamē lōtū
Tam mārtō	Tam lugau	Tamē lōtū
Vē mārtō	Yē lugau	Vē lōtū
Me-nē māryā	Mī lugāyō	Mē lōtō
Tē-nē māryā	Tū lugāyō	Tū lōtō
Un-nē māryā	Wō lugāyō	Ū lōtō

Kanjarī (Sitapur).	Kanjarī (Belgaum).	Natī (State Rampur).
Wō haughō . . .	Ō hō . . .	Wē hōchē . . .
Maĩ hūdo . . .	Maĩ handō . . .	Khō nō . . .
Taĩ hūdo . . .	Yō handō . . .	Khanū hōchā . . .
Wō hūdo . . .	Ē handō . . .	Woh hōchā . . .
.....	Hamē handā . . .	Kham nō . . .
.....	Tumē handā . . .	Num nē . . .
.....	Ō handā . . .	Wē nē . . .
.....	Huyingō . . .	Hō . . .
.....	Hōwāku . . .	Hōpnā . . .
.....	Hōndo . . .	Hōtē huē . . .
.....	Hōwar-kō . . .	Hōkar . . .
Maĩ hūghasō . . .	Maĩ hōwuṅgō . . .	Hōgō ke khō rō . . .
Maĩ hūghasō . . .	Maĩ hōwuṅgō . . .	Khō rōgā . . .
.....	Maĩ hōnōch . . .	Mij-kō hōpnā chāhiyē . . .
Lugni . . .	Kuṭwār . . .	Lōthō . . .
Lugaodirō . . .	Kuṭwārku . . .	Lōthnā . . .
Lugaōdō . . .	Kuṭwārle . . .	Lōthtē huē . . .
Lugao-kē . . .	Kuṭwār-kō . . .	Lōth-kar . . .
Maĩ lugairō . . .	Maĩ kuṭwārō . . .	Khū lōthtā rō . . .
Taĩ lugairō . . .	Yō kuṭwārō . . .	Tā lōthtā hai . . .
Wō lugairō . . .	Ē kuṭwārō . . .	Woh lōthtā hai . . .
.....	Hamē kuṭwārō . . .	Kham lōthtē hōchē . . .
.....	Tumē kuṭwārō . . .	Num lōthtē hō . . .
.....	Ō kuṭwārō . . .	Wō lōthtē hōchē . . .
Maĩ lugaōdō . . .	Maĩ kuṭrō . . .	Khū-nē lōthā . . .
Taĩ lugaoghis . . .	Yō kuṭrō . . .	Num-nē lōthā . . .
Wō lugaoghis, lugais . . .	Ē kuṭrō . . .	Us nē lōthā . . .

Qasāl.	Sikalgāri (Belgaum).	English.
Uno <u>thā</u> rte	Tē <u>chhē</u>	161. They are.
Maĩ <u>thā</u> tā-thā	Mi <u>hotē</u>	162. I was.
Tū <u>thā</u> tā-thā	Tū <u>hotē</u>	163. Thou wast.
Une <u>thā</u> tā-thā	Tō <u>hotē</u>	164. He was.
Ham <u>thā</u> tā-the	Ham <u>hotē</u>	165. We were.
Tume <u>thā</u> tā-the	Tum <u>hotē</u>	166. You were.
Uno <u>thā</u> tā-the	Tē <u>hatā</u>	167. They were.
<u>Thak</u>	Thai	168. Be.
<u>Thakē</u> yā	Thaiwānē	169. To be.
<u>Thak</u> -tā	Thaitōtē	170. Being.
<u>Thakō</u> ko	Thainē	171. Having been.
Maĩ <u>thak</u> nūgā	Mi <u>thau</u> nūgā	172. I may be.
Maĩ <u>thak</u> nūgā	Mi <u>thau</u> nūgō	173. I shall be.
Maĩ <u>thak</u> -nā	Mi <u>thau</u> ch	174. I should be.
Ghāḍ	Nikār	175. Beat.
Ghāḍ-ku	Nikār wānē	176. To beat.
Ghāḍ-tā	Nikār tō	177. Beating.
Ghāḍ-ko	Nikār nē	178. Having beaten.
Maĩ ghāḍtaũ	Mi nikārū	179. I beat.
Tū ghāḍtaũ	Tū nikār	180. Thou beatest.
Une ghāḍtaũ	Tō nikār	181. He beats.
Ham ghāḍte	Ham nikārū	182. We beat.
Tume ghāḍte	Tum nikār	183. You beat.
Uno ghāḍte	Tē nikār	184. They beat.
Maĩ ghāḍyā	Mi nikāryō	185. I beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).
Tū ghāḍyā	Tū nikāryō	186. Thou beatest (<i>Past Tense</i>).
Une ghāḍyā	Tō nikāryō	187. He beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).

English.	Ōḍkī (Cutch).	Sāḍai (Ordinary).	Sāḍai (Criminal).
188. We beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).	Amī mārīā . . .	Hamō mārīā . . .	Hamō lōyā . . .
189. You beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).	Tamī mārīā . . .	Tamō mārīā . . .	Tamō lōyā . . .
190. They beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).	Taiyē mārīā . . .	Unī unō mārīā . . .	Bunī unō lōyā . . .
191. I am beating . . .	Hē mārē sē . . .	Haū piā mārē haī, or haū mārī rihā haī.	Haū lōtā hōpē, haū lōi rihā hōpē.
192. I was beating . . .	Hē mārē silā . . .	Haū mārē thīyyā (or siyyā)	Haū lōtā thīyyā . . .
193. I had beaten . . .	Mē mārē silē . . .	Maī mārīā thīyyā (or siyyā)	Maī lōyā thīyyā . . .
194. I may beat . . .	Hē mārē . . .	Haū mārē . . .	Haū lōē . . .
195. I shall beat . . .	Hē mārī . . .	Haū mārāṅgrā . . .	Haū lōṅgrā . . .
196. Thou wilt beat . . .	Tū mārī . . .	Taū mārāṅgrā . . .	Taū lōṅgrā . . .
197. He will beat . . .	Sū mārī . . .	Uh mārāṅgrā . . .	Buh lōṅgrā . . .
198. We shall beat . . .	Amī mārū . . .	Ham mārāṅgrē . . .	Ham lōṅgrē . . .
199. You will beat . . .	Tamī mārē . . .	Tam mārāṅgrē . . .	Tam lōṅgrē . . .
200. They will beat . . .	Sū mārī . . .	Uh mārāṅgrē . . .	Buh lōṅgrē . . .
201. I should beat . . .	Māchē mārē khapē . . .	Haū mārē . . .	Haū lōtā . . .
202. I am beaten . . .	Hē mārālā sē . . .	Haū mārīā jattā haī . . .	Haū lōyā jasrtā hōpē . . .
203. I was beaten . . .	Hē mārālā silā . . .	Haū mārīā jattā thīyyā (or siyyā).	Haū lōyā jasrtā thīyyā (or siyyā).
204. I shall be beaten . . .	Hē mārāē . . .	Haū mārīā jāṅgrā . . .	Haū lōyā jasraṅgrā . . .
205. I go . . .	Hē jāē sē . . .	Haū jattā haī . . .	Haū jasrtā hōpē . . .
206. Thou goest . . .	Tū jāi si . . .	Taū jattā haī . . .	Taū jasrtā hōpē . . .
207. He goes . . .	Sū jāi sē . . .	Uh jattā haī . . .	Buh jasrtā hōpē . . .
208. We go . . .	Amī jāū sū . . .	Ham jattē hā . . .	Ham jasrtē hōpē . . .
209. You go . . .	Tamī jāwā sawā . . .	Tam jattē hō . . .	Tam jasrtē hōpē . . .
210. They go . . .	Sū jāi si . . .	Uh jattē haī . . .	Buh jasrtē hōpē . . .
211. I went . . .	Hē gēlā . . .	Haū gayā (<i>pronounced gēā</i>)	Haū gaugā (or jasriā)
212. Thou wentest . . .	Tū gēlā . . .	Taū gayā . . .	Taū gaugā (or jasriā)
213. He went . . .	Ō gēlā . . .	Uh gayā . . .	Buh gaugā (or jasriā)
214. We went . . .	Amī gēlē . . .	Ham gāē . . .	Ham gaugē (jasrē) . . .

Kōshāfi (Akola).	Gārōḍi.	Myānwālā.
Ham-nē māryā . . .	Ham lugāyō . . .	Hamē lōtō . . .
Tum nē māryā . . .	Tum lugāyō . . .	Tumē lōtō . . .
Unh-nē māryā . . .	Yē lugāyō . . .	Vē lōtō . . .
Hū mārta hē . . .	Mi lugātō hapelū . . .	Mē lōtū hū . . .
Hū mārta thiyā . . .	Mi lugātō chhō . . .	Mē lōtū hi . . .
Mē-nē māryā thiyā . . .	Mi lugā chhō . . .	Mē lōtōtō . . .
Mē-nē mārñū . . .	Mi lugāwuñgā . . .	Mē lōtuñgā . . .
Hū mārāng . . .	Mi lugāwuñgō . . .	Mē lōtuñgō . . .
Tu mārāng . . .	Tā lugāwuñgō . . .	Tā lōtuñgō . . .
Wō mārāng . . .	Wō lugāwuñgō . . .	Ū lōtuñgō . . .
Ham mārāng . . .	Ham lugāwuñgō . . .	Hamē lōtuñgō . . .
Tam mārāng . . .	Tam lugāwuñgō . . .	Tumē lōtuñgō . . .
Vē mārāng . . .	Yē lugāwuñgō . . .	Vē lōtuñgō . . .
Mē-nē mārñā . . .	Mi lugāñēkūch . . .	Mē lōtēkū hōpū . . .
Mu-ku māryā . . .	Mi lugād bētē-hapelū . . .	Mē lōt dnti hū . . .
Mu-ku māryā thiyā . . .	Mi lugād bētē-chhō . . .	Mē lōt dnti hi . . .
Mu-ku mārāng . . .	Mi lugād bētuñgō . . .	Mē lōt dntuñgō . . .
Hū jāta . . .	Mi dzhāyilū . . .	Mē hiṭū . . .
Tu jāta . . .	Tā dzhāyilū . . .	Tā hiṭū . . .
Ō jāta . . .	Wō dzhāyilū . . .	Ū hiṭū . . .
Ham jētō . . .	Ham dzhāyilū . . .	Hamē hiṭō . . .
Tam jētō . . .	Tam dzhāyilū . . .	Tumē hiṭō . . .
Vē jāta . . .	Yē dzhāyilū . . .	Vē hiṭū . . .
Hū gayā . . .	Mi ghayilyō . . .	Mē hiṭō . . .
Tu gayā . . .	Tā ghayilyō . . .	Tā hiṭō . . .
Ō gayā . . .	Wō ghayilyō . . .	Ū hiṭō . . .
Ham gayō . . .	Ham ghayilyō . . .	Hamē hiṭō . . .

Kanjari (Sitapur).	Kanjari (Belgaum).	Naṭi (State Rampur).
.....	Hamē kuṭṛā . . .	Kham-nē lōthā . . .
.....	Tumē kuṭṛā . . .	Num-nē lōthā . . .
.....	Ō kuṭṛā . . .	Unhō-nē lōthā . . .
Maĩ lūgairō . . .	Maĩ kuḍḍā hē . . .	Khū lōhtā rō . . .
Maĩ lugaḍḍō . . .	Maĩ kuḍḍē handō . . .	Khū lōth rahā thā . . .
Maĩ lugaighirō; maĩ lūgairō	Maĩ kuṭṛōdō . . .	Khū-nē lōthā thā . . .
.....	Maĩ kuṭuṅgō . . .	Hōgō ke khū lōthō . . .
Maĩ lugaosū; maĩ lugaoghasī.	Maĩ kuṭuṅgō . . .	Khū lōthōgā . . .
Taĩ lugaoghasī . . .	Yō kuṭiṅgō . . .	Khanū lōthērā . . .
Birō lugaoghasī . . .	Ē kuṭiṅgō . . .	Woh lōthērā . . .
.....	Hamē kuṭiṅgā . . .	Kham lōthērē . . .
.....	Tumē kuṭiṅgā . . .	Num lōthērē . . .
.....	Ō kuṭiṅgā . . .	Wē lōthērē . . .
Maĩ lugaoghasū . . .	Maĩ kuṭwār-wā-ku hōnū . . .	Mujh-kō lōthnā chāhiyē . . .
Maĩ lūgairō gaoghirō . . .	Maĩ kuṭwār-linō . . .	Khū lōthā gayā rō . . .
Maĩ lūgairō gaoghirō thō . . .	Maĩ kuṭwār-gau . . .	Khū lōthā gayā thā . . .
Maĩ lūgairo gaoghasū . . .	Maĩ kuṭwār-lēwuṅgō . . .	Khū lōthā jāṭgā . . .
Maĩ jaoghadō . . .	Maĩ nikharuṅgō . . .	Khū jāsurā . . .
Taĩ jaoghasī . . .	Yō nikharuṅgō . . .	Nū jāsurā hai . . .
Wō jaoghasī . . .	Ē nikharuṅgō . . .	Woh jāsurā hai . . .
.....	Hamē nikhardaĩ . . .	Kham jāsurā hōchō . . .
.....	Tumē nikhardaĩ . . .	Num jāsurā hō . . .
.....	Ō nikhardaĩ . . .	Wē jāsurā hōchō . . .
Maĩ jaoghirō . . .	Maĩ gawō . . .	Khū gayā . . .
Taĩ jaoghirō . . .	Yō gawō . . .	Nū gayā . . .
Wō jaoghirō . . .	Ē gawō . . .	Woh gayā . . .
.....	Hamē gawā . . .	Kham gayō . . .

Qasī.	Sikalgāri (Belgaum).	English.
Ham ghādyā	Ham nikāryō	188. We beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).
Tume ghādyā	Tum nikāryō	189. You beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).
Uno ghādyā	Tē nikāryō	190. They beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).
Maĩ ghādtā-bai	Mi nikārtāi	191. I am beating.
Maĩ ghādtā-hattā	Mi nikārtōtō	192. I was beating.
Maĩ ghādyātā	Mi nikāryōtō	193. I had beaten.
Maĩ ghāḍengā	Mi nikāruṅgā	194. I may beat.
Maĩ ghāḍuṅgā	Mi nikāruṅgō	195. I shall beat.
Tū ghāḍuṅgā	Tū nikāruṅgō	196. Thou wilt beat.
Une ghāḍuṅgā	Tō nikāruṅgō	197. He will beat.
Ham ghāḍuṅgā	Ham nikāruṅgō	198. We shall beat.
Tume ghāḍuṅgā	Tum nikāruṅgō	199. You will beat.
Uno ghāḍuṅgā	Tē nikāruṅgō	200. They will beat.
Maĩ ghāḍnā	Mi nikārūch	201. I should beat.
Maĩ ghāḍ khaū	Mi nikār-dutyō-chhō	202. I am beaten.
Maĩ ghāḍ khāyā	Mi nikār-dutyōtō	203. I was beaten.
Maĩ ghāḍ khaungā	Mi nikār-duttuṅgā	204. I shall be beaten.
Maĩ khūwataū	Mi jākan	205. I go.
Tū khūwataū	Tū jākan	206. Thou goest.
Une khūwataū	Tō jākan	207. He goes.
Ham khūwate	Ham jākan	208. We go.
Tume khūwate	Tum jākan	209. You go.
Uno khūwate	Tē jākan	210. They go.
Maĩ khūhuwā	Mi gāknyō	211. I went.
Tū khūhuwā	Tū gāknyō	212. Thou wentest.
Une khūhuwā	Tō gāknyō	213. He went.
Ham khūhuwā	Ham gāknyō	214. We went.

English.	Ōḍhi (Cutch).	Sāsi (Ordinary).	Sāsi (Criminal).
215. You went . . .	Tamĩ gēlē . . .	Tam gaē . . .	Tam gaugē (jasrē) . . .
216. They went . . .	Sū gēlē . . .	Uh gaē . . .	Buh gaugē (jasrē) . . .
217. Go . . .	Jā . . .	Jā, jāo . . .	Jasr, jasrō . . .
218. Going . . .	Jātā . . .	Jattā . . .	Jasrtā . . .
219. Gone . . .	Gēlā . . .	Gayā . . .	Gaugā, jasriā . . .
220. What is your name ?	Tam-chē nām kāy ?	Tuhārā nā kyā hai ?	Tuhārgā nāũthā kyā hōpē ?
221. How old is this horse ?	Hā gōrā kawrak sē ?	Is ghōrē-gī kyā 'umr hai ?	Bis kūdrē-gī kyā khumr hōpē ?
222. How far is it from here to Kashmir ?	Kashmir aṭhē-ti kitrik chhōṭē sē ?	Ēṭhō Kashmirā tāĩ kinri dūr hai ?	Beṭhō Nāshmirā tāĩ kinri khadūr hōpē ?
223. How many sons are there in your father's house ?	Tam-chē bā-chē gharā-mā kētrēk pūt si ?	Tuhārē bappā-gē gharā bich kitnē pūt hai ?	Tuhārgē bāptō-gē khaulē kitnē bōrē hōpē ?
224. I have walked a long way to-day.	Āj mē lāmbā path karlā sē	Ājj haũ baṛi dūr turīā	Kojj haũ jaḍi khadūr nuriā.
225. The son of my uncle is married to his sister.	Māchē kākē-chā pūt tē-chē bānī-nē pēplā sē.	Mērē kākē-gā pūt uskiā bāpā sāth biāhiā hūā hai.	Mērgē kākē-gā bōrā buskiā (or khapṇiā) dhabāpā nāth chhiāhiā hōpiā hōpē.
226. In the house is the saddle of the white horse.	Gharā-mā dhōrē gōrē-chā kāthā sē.	Baggē ghōrē-gī kāthi gharā bich hai.	Dhabaggē kūdrē-gī nāthi khaulē bich hōpē.
227. Put the saddle upon his back.	Tē-chi puṭhā mātḥē kāthā māḍā.	Kāthi uskiā piṭṭhā par bāhō	Nāthi buskiā niṭṭhā khāpar dāwō.
228. I have beaten his son with many stripes.	Mē tē-chē pūtā-nē ghaṇē phatḥē mārē sī.	Maĩ uskē pūtā-gū baṛē kōṭiē (baint or sōṭē) mārē.	Maĩ buskē bōrē-gū jaḍē nōṭiē (nhoṭē) lōḥ.
229. He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill.	Sū dūgrā mātḥē chōpē charāvē sē.	Uh pahārā-giā chōtiā uppar ḍangar chugūtā hai.	Buh nahārā-giā nōṭiā khāpar khaḍangar nugātā hōpē.
230. He is sitting on a horse under that tree.	Sū ō jhārā nichē gōrē mātḥē bēslā sē.	Uh us rukkhā-gē tal ghōrē-gē uppar baiṭhā hai.	Buh bus khrukkā-gē tal kūdrē khāpar ṭhūkiā hōpē.
231. His brother is taller than his sister.	Ē-chi bānī-kartā ō-chā bhāu ūchā sē.	Uskā bhāi uskiā bāpā satthā lammā hai.	Buskā bhautā buskiā (or khapṇiā) dhabāpā natthā khulanmā hōpē.
232. The price of that is two rupees and a half.	Ē-chi kimat aḍhi rūpiē sē .	Iskā mōll dhāi rupayyē hai	Biskā chimul nhāi baluē (or rukṇā or lābē) hōpē.
233. My father lives in that small house.	Māchā bā ō dhārē gharā-mā rē-sē.	Mērā bāpp usnikē gharā bich rahtā hai.	Mērgā bāptā bus khikē khaulē bich raugtā hōpē.
234. Give this rupee to him	Hā rūpiā tē-nē dēwā .	Uskō ēā rupayyā dē .	Buskō bēā rukṇā (baluā, lābā) dēp.
235. Take those rupees from him.	Iē rūpiē tō pāsē-thi ghēwā .	Uskē pāsā uh rupayyē lēi lē	Buskē nāsā buh rukṇē lēpi lēp.
236. Beat him well and bind him with ropes.	Ē-nē khūb mārā anē rāḍhvē-ti bādhā.	Uskō achchhiā tarā mārō tē rassē sāthth baddhō.	Buskō chōngniā narā lōḥ tē khassē natth chhēdwō.
237. Draw water from the well.	Kuwē-māy-ti pāpi kadhā .	Us khā bichchā pāpi kadḍhō.	Bus nūā khabichchā chaĩ kēḍhwō.
238. Walk before me . . .	Mā agiā chāl . . .	Mērē aggē turō . . .	Mērgē kuggē nuro . . .
239. Whose boy comes behind you ?	Tamā wāsē kē-chā pūt āwē sē ?	Tuhārē picchhē kiskā pūt ātā hai ?	Tuhārgē nichhē kiskā bōrā asrtā hōpē ?
240. From whom did you buy that ?	Tamĩ hāw kē pāsē-ti vēchātī ghēlē ?	Tamō kis-thō uh mōllē liyyā ?	Tamō kis-thō buh khamōllē lēpiā ?
241. From a shopkeeper of the village.	Gāmē-chē ēk hāṭawārē pāsē-ti.	Gāwā-gē ēkki dukandārā pāsā.	Dhāmē-(or nādā)-gē bēkti kūṭiā-wālē nāsā.

Kōlhāṭī (Akola).	Gārōḍī.	Myānwālē.
Tam gayē	Tum ghayilyō	Tamē hiṭō
Vē gayē	Yē ghayilyō	Vē hiṭō
Jā	<u>D</u> ghāyil	Hiṭvād
Chalyā	<u>D</u> ghālṭē	Hiṭṭē
Gayā	Ghailōso	Hiṭlao
Tērā nāwehḥā kyā hē ? .	Tērō chyōnō kē ? . . .	Tērō nōkaḍō kā ? . . .
Is rhōḍē-ki humbar rētti hāchchē ?	Ē ghōṛṭē-kā kitmā bars ? .	Hē ghōḍchē-kā kitānē naras ?
Bṣṭhē-sī Kāsmir rētti dūr hē ?	Inḡā-sī Kāsmir kitmā dūr ?	Hyā-sē Kāsmir kitānē dūg ?
Tērē bāppā-kō khōggē kēttē chhōrē hē ?	Tērē bhāwutē-kē nānd-ma kitmā lāwḍō ?	Tērō māwutē-kō khōk-mē kitānē gelpō ?
Āj bahōttā durā-sī phiri āyā.	Mī āj bharkum bāt chal-kō hāyilyō.	Mā khāj chhot dūg rāt nālē.
Mērē kākē-kē chhōrē-kē us-kē bāhēnā-sī bihā lagyā.	Wōkē bhanichi mērō kākē-kē lāwḍē-kā walaili.	Wāki rhākli mērō dhākā-kā gelpō-kā khichwādī.
Us khōggē-mē dhōthē rhōḍē-kā khōgīr hē.	Wā nānd-ma khujlō ghōr-kā khōgīrtī rhapel.	Wā khōk-mē dhōko ghōḍchō nhōgīr hōbrō.
Us-kē niṭṭi-par khōgīr dhar.	Wōkē panēchi-pa khōgīrtī ghalel.	Wāki niṭ-kē khūpar nhōgīr nakōḍ.
Us-kē chhōrē-ku hū jōhōt phatḥō thāyē.	Mī wōkē lāwḍē-kā bhar-kum lugāyō.	Mē wākē gelpō-kā chhot lōtō.
Ō us nēkrē-par dhōr charāi rhiyā.	Wō wā tēkḍi-pa kāwē charāyillā hē.	Ō nēkaḍi-kē khūpar ū nāl narā rhōkē hōbrō.
Us nhāḍā-kē tanē rhōḍē-par thōktā hōchchē.	Wō wā dzhāḍ-kē-tan ghōr-kā-pa thigiyā hē.	Nhāḍ-kē talḥē ū ghōḍchō khūpar tōe-rōkō.
Us-kā bhāwtā us-kē bāhēnā-sī khuchchā hē.	Wōkē bhanichi-sī okē bhēkḍā khuchchō hapelā.	Wākē hākli wāki rhākli-sē khunchō hōbrō.
Bus-kā mōl kōḍhāi tivhē hē.	Ōki kimmat khāḍē gandilō	Wāki dhimmat khāḍai dhōkiyā.
Mērā bāptā bus nanchhā khōggē-mē rōkhtā hōchchō.	Mērō bhāwutō nanchō nānd-ma rhapelā.	Mērō māwatō wā nhōknō khōk-mē rhōkē.
Yō tiwā bus-kō dēppō .	Ō-kū yē gandilā walā .	Wā-kū yē dhōkiyā khichwād.
Bus-kē najikā-sē nē tivhē lyēp.	Ē gandilē wōkan-sē lhāyil .	Wā-pēsē yē dhōkiyā chōngbēt.
Bus-ku rhup tāt ān bus-ku nēkḍiyā-sī nāddhi lā.	Ōkā chisam lugā-kā jawḍi-sī chirwānd.	Wā-kū khāchō lōt-kar jēkaḍi-sē chōnd.
Buyē-mē-sī chēni kaḍḍ .	Thāḍḍi-mā-sē nirmā ghaichmel.	Rāwāḍi-mē-sē chāyī tēngbēt.
Mērē nhāmē nal . . .	Mērē khagāḍi chal . . .	Mērō khagāḍi nalwād .
Tērē nichchhē ris-kā bōrā āsartā ?	Tērē dzhichāḍi-sē kōn-kā lāwḍō hāyilā ?	Tērō ripchē kun-kō gālō barawāḍē ?
Byē riṭṭhō-sī mōlē lyēpyā ?	Tū yē kōn-kan-sī mōl lhai-lyō ?	Tū yē kun-pēsō dimal bētō ?
Bus rhōḍē-kē nukāndārā-thōst.	Wā nānd-kē ek-nā rawā-nyā-kan-sī.	Wā nhōḍē-kā nukānwālē-pēsō.

Kanjarī (Sitapur).	Kanjarī (Belgaum).	Naī (State Rampur).
.. ..	Tumō gawā	Num gayē
.....	Ō gawā	Wē gayē
Jaogh	Nikhar	Jāō
Jaughado	Nikhardō	Jāsurtē huē
Raūch gaughiro	Nikhar-gaugri	Jāsurtā huā
Tērō kā nao-hēlo ?	Tērō nām kā ?	Numhārā kyā nām hai ?
Ih ghurāro kittō rūphō hai ?	Ē ghōḍo-ki kitti umar ?	Is ruhaṛchō-ki kyā khumar hai ?
Ihā-sē Kashmir kitti durhēlo hūghē ?	Hyāndē Kāsmīr kitanē dūr hē ?	Ēthō-sē Kashmir kitni dūr hai ?
Tērē bap-hēlā-ki ribō-mā kai chūbkā hūghē ?	Tērō bāpō-ke nandō-mā kittā baiḍā hē ?	Numhārē khabāp-kē rōhallā-mē kitnē lōhrē hōchē ?
Maī āj dur-hēlo gaughiro .	Maī āj bahut dūr rastō challō hē.	Hū āj chhūt khadōr chalā rō.
Mērō kākā-kā chūbkō burō-ki rahin bihāis.	Urō-ki bhayaṇ mērō kākā-kō baiḍā-ku dinā-hē.	Mērē kākā-kā lōhrā us-ki chhēn-sē byāhā gayā.
Ribō-mā rapēd ghurāro-kā jin-hēli hai.	Ō nandō-mā ujalē ghōḍo-ki jina hē.	Rōhallā-mē us ruhaṛchō-kā gaddā hai.
Birō-ki piṭhēli-par jin-hēli ṭhikē.	Urō-ki piṭhēli-po jina ḍalwār	Us-kō pēṭhā-par gaddā dharō.
Maī birō-kē chūbkā-kū rahut chabuk lugairō.	Maī urō-ki baiḍā-ku bahut ghaḍwāḍō-hē.	Mē us-kō lōhrō-kō chhūt lōthā.
Birō ruhārē-ki ruṭiā par gahēli charghadi.	Yō ṭōkō-po janāwarē charwārdō hē.	Woh pahārā-ki gōth par nōhō charā rahā hai.
Birō pērhēlā tar ghurārā par chhaiṭhō hai.	Ē ḍzhāḍō-ke jiminī ghōḍo-kē khūpar chēṭrō-hē.	Woh us pēr-ki khatar bēk ruhaṛchi-par ṭhōkā hai.
Birō-kō chibhāi burā-ki rahinā-sē lambō hai.	Urō-kō bhai urō-ki bhayaṇ-dē khūñchi hē.	Us-kā bhaotā us-ki chhanni-sē chhūt khālambā hai.
Birō-kā ḍam-hēlā kharail goil hai.	Us-ki kimmāt jawāḍnīs kailā.	Us-ki rimāt khāi khambā hai.
Mērō bap-hēlo birō chhutārō ribō-mē hē.	Mērō bāpōne wō nunnke nandō-mā rahēndō.	Mērā nāp us nanuhē rōhallā-mē rōhtā hai.
Jē goil birō tiūr	Yō kailā urō-ku kidō	Yah khambā us-kō ḍēpi ḍē
Wō goil birō-sē lē-lingh	Urō-ke pās-de wō kailā chauṅga-lē.	Woh khambā us-sē lēpi lō
Birō-kō khūb lugai baur jibērhēli-sē chaūdh.	Urō-ku nīrō ghaḍwāḍ-ko rasēli-de bandwār.	Usō khūb lōthō aur jōriyō-sē bādhō ḍō.
Dhuā-sē nimāni nikār	Bawāḍi-mā-de niwāni khich-wār.	Rūñ-sē chhai ṭēki lō
Mērē khāgēlō chalugh	Mērō sambōr chālwar	Mērē gōgē chalō
Tērē nichhē kinō-kō chūbkō aughadō ?	Tērō pichwāḍ-de kirō-kō baiḍō awardō ?	Numhārē nichhē kis-ka bōhrā āsurtā hai ?
Kinō-sē taī mulah lē linghiro ?	Yō kirō-ke pās-de kimatīne līnō ?	Num-nō woh nich kis-sē lēpi hī ?
Gaohēlā-kō bēk baniō-sē	Ō khōḍo-ke ekkaṇ ḍukān-wālā ke pās-de.	Nandwā-kō bēk bāniyā-re

Qasāi.	Sikalgāri (Belgaum).	English.
Tume khūhuwā	Tum gakyō	215. You went.
Uno khūhuwā	Ts gakyō	216. They went.
Khū	Jākan	217. Go.
Khūwatā	Jākantā	218. Going.
Khūwāsā	Gaknal	219. Gone.
Tōrō nau kyā ?	Tārū nām sū ?	220. What is your name ?
Ē ghōḍō-ku kette sāl ?	Yē chhimnā-nē kekhalā warakh ?	221. How old is this horse ?
Hyāsi Kāsmir kette dūr ?	Hyā-tō Kāsmir kekhalā dūr ?	222. How far is it from here to Kashmir ?
Tōrā bābā-kā nann-me kettā kachōle ?	Tārā yabā-nā khōl-mā kekhalā dikarā chhē ?	223. How many sons are there in your father's house ?
Maī āj bahut dūr bāt chāl-wāḍku awaryā	Mī āj ghanā dūr wāt chālyō	224. I have walked a long way to-day.
Use bhāp mōrā chichchō-kā kachōlā-ku kidyātāl	Tinī bhēp mūrā kākā-nā dikarā-nō gāryōch	225. The son of my uncle is married to his sister.
Ō nann-me ujale ghōḍō-ke khōḡtr thag-tiye	Tinā khōl-mā dhōḍō chhimnā-nō khōḡtr chhē	226. In the house is the saddle of the white horse.
Uski piṭ-kū uppar khōḡtr aḍāl	Tinā piṭḍā-par khōḡtr ghāgal	227. Put the saddle upon his back.
Maī uskā kachōlā-ku bahut ghāḍyā-haū	Mī tinā chhōknānc ghaṭōl nikāryō	228. I have beaten his son with many stripes.
Use ō dōngar-ke uppar gōrpe charwāḍtā hai	Tō tēkaḍā-par dhōrō charwāḍyō	229. He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill.
Use ō dshāḍ-ke talle ghōḍō-ke uppar baṭwāḍe	Tō dshāḍō khēṭō chhimnā-par bukhlyō	230. He is sitting on a horse under that tree.
Uskā bhai uskā bhāp-se unchā thārtāū	Tinī bhāp-tā tinō bhāyī uchchō chhē	231. His brother is taller than his sister.
Uski kimmat jawānt kailā	Tinī kimmat khaḍī sabādā	232. The price of that is two rupees and a half.
Mōrā bābā ō subak nann-me thagtaū	Mārō yabō tē nhānchōn khōl-mā rhakhan	233. My father lives in that small house.
Usku ō kailā kīd	Tinē yē sabādā gār	234. Give this rupee to him.
Ō kaile uske pās-te māngālle	Ti-kantā yē sabādā chigārīlā	235. Take those rupees from him.
Use sōbtī tarā-se ghāḍko rāsī-se bandāl	Tinē ghaṭōl nikārī-nō doḍḍā-tō chhānd	236. Beat him well and bind him with ropes.
Bāwāḍī-mō-sī nīrgā khaīchāl	Īr-mā-tū pānī kēḡṭ	237. Draw water from the well.
Mōrā sāmpnō chāl-wāḍ	Mū khāmō chāgal	238. Walk before me.
Tōrā pichēsi kis-kā chhankā awartaū ?	Tārā pāchō kinō chhōknō ākhtyō ?	239. Whose boy comes behind you ?
Kis-ke pās-te tume ō maul-ku hiḍpyā ?	Tā tē ki-kantā khikkāto-lōkhtyō ?	240. From whom did you buy that ?
Khōḍō-kā ekkaṇ-dukānwālā pāste	Khōḍā-nā wāutyā-kantā	241. From a shopkeeper of the village.

VOLUME XI.

Page 3.—Add at end:—

‘ Since the above was written, Dr. Grahame Bailey has published on p. 265 of his *Linguistic Studies from the Himalayas* (Asiatic Society Monographs, Vol. XVII, London, 1920) an account of the argot employed by the Qalandars, a nomadic tribe the members of which make their living by conjuring and by showing performing bears, monkeys, and goats. In the general principles of its formation, this argot closely resembles the others described in this volume.’

Page 8.—At the end of the second complete paragraph on this page, after the words ‘ his hearer could understand ’, add the following:—

‘ Mutations and transpositions play a considerable part in the Śaiva *Āgamas*, where they are used with the object of making certain texts unintelligible to those who are not initiated. The *mlēchchhitaka-vikalpāḥ*, i.e., the different kinds of *mlēchchhitaka*, or transpositions or mutations of letters so as to make one’s speech unintelligible, form one of the sixty-four *kalās*, or arts with which an Indian gentleman or lady should be acquainted. A list of these arts,—which already appears in Vātsyāyana’s *Kāma-sūtra* (pp. 32ff. in the Nirṇaya Sāgara edition, Bombay, 1891),—is given in Śrīdhara’s commentary to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (X, xlv, 36), and is there stated to have been taken from the *Śaiva-tantra*. Its inclusion in the *Kāma-sūtra* is in accordance with the tradition that that work was revealed to mankind by Nandin, the attendant of Śiva. In his commentary to the *Kāma-sūtra*, Yaśōdhara gives the names of some of these argots,—such as “ Kautaliya ”, “ Mūladēviya ”, and so on,—and quotes verses from other writers in explanation of their peculiarities.’

Page 71, line 8.—Add after ‘ Gipsy tribe ’. ‘ Mr. Sedgwick informs me that the caste usually calls itself “ Dōmbār ” when it goes in for acrobatic work, and “ Kōlhātī ” when it follows other callings ’.

Page 89.—The meaning ‘ scabbard-maker ’ attributed to *Myānwālē* is doubtful. In a private letter Mr. Sedgwick suggests that these people may have originally come from Sind. In that Province the Kalhōra chiefs are known as ‘ Miān ’, and their followers are known as ‘ Miānwāls ’. The Kalhōras are believed to have been originally disciples of a Kurdish *Murshid*. In Sind, ‘ Lōhār ’ is generally pronounced short as ‘ Lhār ’.

Page 144.—Add to the list of Authorities on Dōms the following:—

CAPE, REV. G. PHILLIPS.—*Some Words and Sentences Illustrating the Argot of the Doms*. Edited by Sten Konow in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1924, pp. 240ff.

